THE GREAT PHILADELPHIA WAGON ROAD IN FORSYTH COUNTY, N. C., 1750 - 1770

Alleghany
Wilkes 1777
Surry 1771
Yadkin 1850
Stokes 1789
HOLLOW SETTLEMENT (Mt. Airy) 1761
Wilkes 1772
Surry
Upper Mulberry Fields Road - 1753
MULBERRY FIELDS (Wilkesboro)
Mulberry Fields Road
US 421
I-77
White Rock Ford
Yadkin River
Eldkin Ford
Rockford-Shallow Ford Rd.
Battle of Shallow Ford 10-19-1780
Bryant's Ford
Huntsville 1790
Shallow Ford
Yadkin Valley Road - 1753
Town Fork - Bonnake 1753
Bonnake Ford
Bethania 1759
WACHOVIA 1753
Trading Path - 1670
(Boone Trail) - 1763
Huntsville c.1750
Surry 1771
Rowan 1771
Island Ford Road
Sherrill's Path (Gap)
SETTLEMENT 1748
Iredell 1788
I-77
I-40
Clendidge c.1751
Friedburg 1754
Davis-Jones Ferry 1768
Davie 1836
Alexander
Iredell Line
South Yadkin River
Chipley's Ford
Island Ford Rd.
Rt. 1743
Bethabara - Salisbury Road - 1771
Rankin's Ford
Davidson 1822
Battle of Fort Dobbs 2-25-1760
FOURTH CREEK SETTLEMENT 1748
Trading Path - 1670
Statesville - 1789
Island Ford
Lookout Shoals Lake
IRISH (2nd Cr.) SETTLEMENT 1748
Shoals Ford (Cooleemee)
Cleveland
TRADING CAMP SETT. 1750
Salisbury 1755
Trading Ford
High Rock
Catawba
SHERRILL'S SETTLEMENT 1747
Sherrill's Ford
Lake Norman
Georgia Road c. 1760
Beattie's - Trading Ford Rd.
I-85
Rowan 1753
DAVIDSON'S CREEK SETTLEMENT
Battle of Torrance Tavern, 2-2-1781
GRANVILLE LINE
(Rowan - 1753)
Mecklenburg 1748
Cabarrus
Anson

DAN RIVER SETTLEMENT 1748
Davis Ford
Madison
Dan River
Rockingham
Caswell
Pine Hall
Ladd's Ford
Carmichael's Ford
FORK SETT.
Quaker Church Rd. 1751
Quaker Church Rd. 1751
Surry 1771
Guilford
Haw River
1753
Battle of Guilford C.H. 3-15-1781
Alamance
Forsyth 1849
Dobson's X-Road 1756 (Kernersville)
QUAKER OR NEW GARDEN SETTLEMENT 1751
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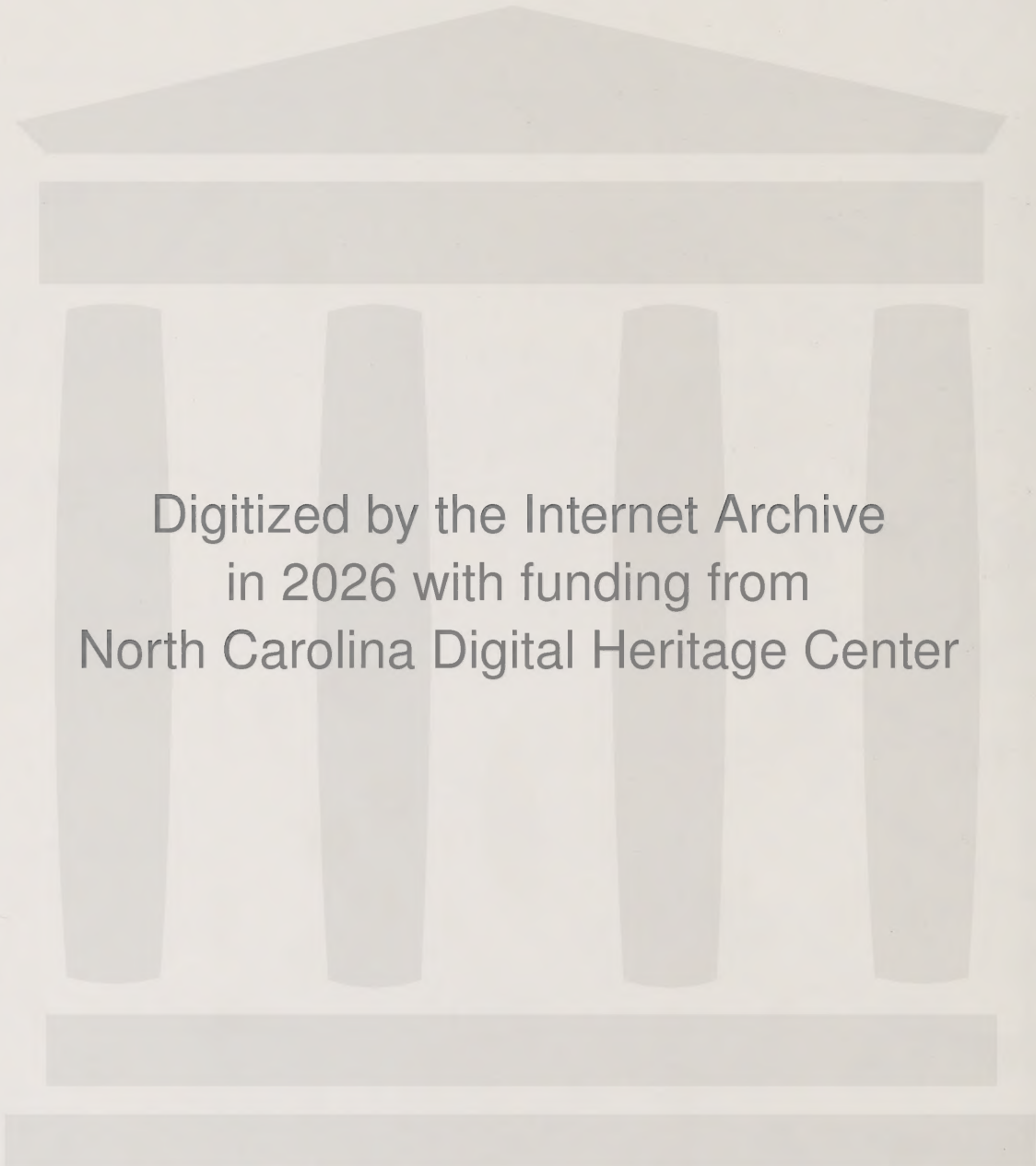
Rowan
Orange
Hillsboro Road
I-85 & 40
I-40
Surry St.
Rowan
Guilford Court House 1751
Salem to
Salisbury-New Garden Rd.
Cross Creek 1770
Guilford-Anson Rd.
Cross Creek Rd.
Orig. Line
Quaker-Alamance-Henry to Fort Rd.
(Petersburg)
Battle of Alamance 5-16-1771
Haw River
ABBOTT'S
CREEK
I-85 Bus.
Trading Path
Deep River
Johnsonville 1774
Randolph 1779
Fort Totero 1733
Jones
to Trading Path
Deep River Road
Meares's (Guilford)-Anson Rd.
Cape Fear Road - 1755
Rowan
Guilford 1770
Chatham
Montgomery
(Rowan Orange Cumberland) - 1753
GRANVILLE LINE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THE GREAT PHILADELPHIA WAGON ROAD IN FORSYTH COUNTY, N. C. 1750 - 1770

HISTORIC ROADS OF FORSYTH COUNTY
Volume One

by R. Kyle Stimson, Vice-Chairman
Great Wagon Road Preservation Committee

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PHOTOGRAPH INDEX

All photos taken by author except where noted. The photograph section is after p. 158.

Trading Ford of the Yadkin River

The most important ford on the upper Yadkin River; crossing of the Great Trading Path from Fort Henry (Petersburg, Va.); originally called the Occaneechi Trail, after the Indian town near the present Clarksville, Va.; possibly the ford at Guatari, Juan Pardo's fort and an Indian village, 1567; trader James Needham murdered by Hasecoll, an Occaneechi, in 1673 on the Davidson County side of the ford; Indian village of Sapona Town, Rowan County, visited by John Lawson in 1701; crossing of the American army under General Nathaniel Greene, 3 February 1781; photo was taken from the roof of Duke Energy's Dukeville Power Plant, Dukeville, Rowan County; the Trading Path crossed just south of the island seen on the left.

Crooked Creek, Henry County, Virginia

Named Crooked Creek by Colonel William Byrd II, on his survey of the Virginia-North Carolina line in1728, from its twisting back and forth across the line of the survey; GWR crossed over the rocks in the background; photo taken from the Lester family park.

Market Street Bridge, Schuylkill River, Philadelphia

Photo taken by Diaz in 1955; printed by permission of Temple University's Urban Archives; the Wagon Road crossed the Schuylkill River by the Market Street Ferry (usually called the Middle Ferry) at this spot; the bridge is the third one built here.

Wrightsville Bridge, Columbia to Wrightsville, Pennsylvania

Photo taken at sunset, looking west over the Susquehanna River, from Columbia to Wrightsville, a mile away; Wright's Ferry (1734), the crossing for the GWR, crossed between the modern bridge and the remains of the old bridge.

Ruins of the Hans Jost Heydt (Hite) House, Bartonsville, Virginia

The house was originally built c. 1732, and fell into ruin in the 19th century; the GWR can be glimpsed crossing the pasture in the background.

George Washington's Office, Winchester, Virginia

The middle section was built for him in 1748; later expanded and converted to a house.

Natural Bridge of Cedar Creek, Natural Bridge, Virginia

Surveyed by Peter Jefferson and George Washington, 1749; purchased by Thomas Jefferson, 5 July 1774; one of the three branches of the Road in the area traveled atop the bridge (Great Valley Road, Great Wagon Road, Great Warriors' Path).

Shallow Ford of the Yadkin River

The second most important crossing of the upper Yadkin River (the first crossing was the Trading Ford, near Salisbury); animal and Indian crossing for millennia; junction of the Virginia Road (the Great Wagon Road east of the river), Sherrill's Path (the Great Wagon Road west of the river), Mulberry Fields Road to the present Wilkesboro (now called the Daniel Boone Trail, the western extension of the Cape Fear Road), the Shallow Ford to Cape Fear Road (1755, to Cross Creek, now Fayetteville), Georgia Road (c. 1780, to Charlotte and points south), Island Ford Road (Island Ford of the Catawba River: also the crossing of the northern Trading Path), Salem to Shallow Ford Road, 1772, sometimes called Old Stage Road; the Great Wagon Road crossed just north of the island in the background; photo was taken from the West Bend-Huntsville bridge, half-mile north of the ford.

Graves of Squire and Sarah Morgan Boone

Daniel Boone's parents; Joppa Graveyard, just off N. C. Highway 801, Mocksville, Davie County, North Carolina; remains of many Boone family members and in-laws are buried there.

Wagon Road ford on Blackwater River

Located just south of Dugwell, Virginia, near Rocky Mount; GWR research in Franklin County by Dr. Francis Amos of Rocky Mount.

Davis or Pitzer's Ford, Dan River

The Great Wagon Road crossed at the rocks just this side of Snow Creek (enters from the right at the top of the photo); photo was taken from the Dodgetown Road bridge over the Dan River, east of Danbury, Stokes County, North Carolina.

Hans Wagner Cabin, Historic Bethabara Park

First structure in what would become Bethabara: built by Hans Wagner in 1752, abandoned by him the following year due to the soon-to-be-arriving Moravians; dilapidated by 1766 and destroyed by the Moravians that year; rebuilt on its original site in 1991.

Henry Banner House

The house was supposedly built in 1752, and moved down the hill in 1806: the latter date is carved in a log on the front porch. Many other Banner artifacts, including the first Banner Cemetery, can be seen near the house. The knoll it was originally built on was more defensible than many other sites in the area.

Ruins of Adam Spach's Rock House

Built from March to August 1774, occupied by the Spach family until the late 1800s; purchased by the Wachovia Historical Society in the early 20th century; in ruin by c. 1940; located south of Friedburg Moravian Church, Davidson County, North Carolina.

Bethabara Fort, Historic Bethabara Park

The first fort was built in 1756, its timbers rotting quickly; the second fort was built in 1758, and destroyed in 1763 after the French and Indian War; the fort was rebuilt in 1964 along the lines of the 1756 fort; photo was taken from behind the1788 Bethabara Gemainhaus.

Remains of the Wagon Road, Lewisville

The photo was taken just north of Shiloh Lutheran Church; these remains of the Great Wagon Road run along the northern edge of the Windham Farm development.

Hauser - Haynes House

West Bend, Forsyth County; stands on the site of the Poindexter House; probable site of the Robert Lanier house; house burned in 1997.

Poindexter - Clingman Cemetery

On Shallow Ford Road, a quarter-mile east of the West Bend-Huntsville bridge; the first grave was that of Robert Lanier, 1746-1785; his widow married a Poindexter after his early death, almost 39 (hence the name of the cemetery, and the probable identification of the Poindexter house with the Lanier house).

MAP INDEX

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Historical Road Map, 1997

Combination of 18th century maps and a NC State Map of 1996; by R. Kyle Stimson, author. . . . . .Endsheets

Detail of Joshua Fry - Peter Jefferson Map, 1751

One of the earliest maps of Virginia and Maryland; from *The Southeast in Early Maps*, William P. Cumming.

James Carter for Edward Sweeting, 1753

Xerox of the original in the North Carolina Archives, Raleigh; provided by William Bennett, Raleigh.

William Churton's survey map of Wachovia, 1753

The original survey map of Wachovia, combining all 19 plats; courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Northern Province, Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Detail of Joshua Fry - Peter Jefferson map, updated 1755

First map showing GWR, only 18th century source for name; obtained by author at Prentis Store, Williamsburg, Va.

Wachovia, 1759, by Gottlieb Reuter

Second oldest map of Wachovia; courtesy Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Wachovia, 1766, by Gottlieb Reuter

One of at least four maps by Gottlieb Reuter in 1766; courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany.

Detail of John Collet's North Carolina map, 1770

First map of NC after Moseley 1733; surveys by William Churton; *North Carolina in Maps*, Cumming, Plate VII.

Detail of Henry Mouzon's North and South Carolina map, 1775

Last colonial map of NC and SC; from *North Carolina in Maps*, Cumming, Plate VIII.

Land Grant Map of Germanton area, 1997

Based on Granville plats in Archives, Raleigh, provided by Judy Cardwell; traced by author on USGS topo maps.

Historical Map of Forsyth County, 1975

Produced by Winston-Salem / Forsyth County Bicentennial Commission; provided by Dr. J. Edwin Hendricks.

Detail of Forsyth County, 1904

Produced by A. F. Dean; provided by Rod Meyer.

Detail of Forsyth County, 1907

Produced by C. M. Miller; provided by Rod Meyer, from original in Forsyth County Public Library, NC Room.

Wachovia, 1762, by Gottlieb Reuter

Freehand map of Wachovia and surrounding area, original in Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany; in particulars, most accurate of Reuter's; original now faded and hard to read: restored and enhanced by R. Kyle Stimson, author.

Jacob Lash for Jarvis Roebuck, 1762
Xerox of the original in the North Carolina Archives, Raleigh; provided by William Bennett, Raleigh.

Bethania Town Lot, 1766, by Gottlieb Reuter
Copy of original in Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany; provided by Mo Hartley.

Bethabara, 1754
Earliest map of Bethabara; original in Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany; provided by Rod Meyer.

Detail of Samuel Lewis's North Carolina map, 1795
Xerox of the original in the North Carolina Archives, Raleigh; provided by Museum of the Cape Fear, Fayetteville.

Detail ofJonathan Price - John Strother North Carolina map, 1808
First map of NC with changes in road system after statehood; from *NorthCarolina in Maps*, Cumming, Plate IX.

Detail of John MacRae - Robert H. B. Brazier North Carolina map, 1833.
Details road improvements of NC during the 1820's; taken from *NorthCarolina in Maps*, Cumming, Plate X.

East Part of Surrey County, May 10, 1771, by Gottlieb Reuter
Courtesy Moravian Archives, Southern Province, Winston-Salem; bottom fourth missing since the 19th century.

Wachovia, 1761, by Gottlieb Reuter
Third full map of the Wachovia Tract; courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany; provided by Rod Meyer.

Wachovia, January 1770, by Gottlieb Reuter
Courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany; provided by Rod Meyer.

Wachovia, October 1767, by Gottlieb Reuter
Courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany; provided by Rod Meyer.

William Churton for Jacob Lash, February 22, 1759
Xerox of the original in the North Carolina Archives, Raleigh.

Detail of Wachovia, January 1770, by Gottlieb Reuter
Courtesy of the Moravian Archives, Herrnhut, Germany; provided by Rod Meyer.

Detail of Mouzon, 1775
Taken from *NC in Maps*, Cumming, Plate VIII.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Great Wagon Road. I don't remember the first time I heard or read the name, probably because I was not really interested in what seemed to me to be a very insignificant piece of history. I had no clue, for instance, as I would later on, to the supreme contributary nature of the Wagon Road to the subsequent history of this area; or indeed, to the overwhelmingly ironic connections between the inspiration for the creation of the Wagon Road and that of this country itself, probably partially because I would not have believed at the time the truth about the creation of this country, a truth I have subsequently discovered through my own first-hand investigation. But even that being said, that the Great Wagon Road is extremely significant in local, state, and even national history, to me, in what will probably be very surprising to some--even though I acknowledge their importance--even that is not the main reason for my interest.

No, the one overarching reason for my interest in the Great Wagon Road--to me, its most compelling--is its continuing reappearance in the history of both sides of my family, one ancestor on my father's side, Christian Conrad--my great-great-great-great-grandfather--having used it as early as 1769, only twenty or so years after it was first cut south from Virginia, another paternal 4th great-grandfather, Peter Pfaff, Sr., arriving from York, Pennsylvania in 1771, and my maternal great-great-grandfather, Jeremiah Biesecker, having hailed from Gettysburg, Pennsylvania--yet another stop on the Wagon Road--arriving here in the mid-1850's. This personal interest is strongest among people like myself and Dick Ziglar, a descendant of Henry Banner--an early settler of the Town Fork Settlement, now Walnut Cove and Germanton, of c. 1750-51, one of the earliest users *and builders*[1] of the road in this area--and whose enthusiasm for the investigation is second to none, who are descended from these original builders and users of the road in the mid-18th century. Some of these people still maintain true knowledge of the old road, a fount of information readily available.

One frustration concerning these acknowledgements, on the other hand, involves the death of several authors and historians that have written about the Wagon Road over the years, all of them from even before I knew or cared about it. Among them are: James Brawley, reporter for the Salisbury Post; William Patterson Cumming, professor at Davidson College and author of *North Carolina in Maps* and *The Southeast in Early Maps*; Fred Hughes, compiler of several county Historical Documentation land grant maps of North Carolina: Surry, Stokes, Yadkin, Davie, and Guilford among them; Hugh Talmage Lefler, historian and author of *North Carolina, The History of a Southern State*; and Robert Wayne Ramsey, author of *Carolina Cradle*. After reading a number of their works--and using some as sources--I had hoped for an opportunity to discuss their investigation of the road with them. Another that I regret never having met was the late William *Bill* McGee of Germanton, President of the Stokes County Historical Society and charter member of the Great Wagon Road Preservation Committee, the umbrella organization for the investigation and preservation of the old road in Stokes, Surry, Forsyth, Yadkin, and Davie counties.

Also, I did manage to interview one of the historians that authored a main source

[1] Henry Banner was probably involved in cutting a small portion of the road, a fact discussed in Chapter Two.

book for my work: Parke Rouse, Jr., researcher and author of *The Great Wagon Road: From Philadelphia to the South*, in Greenville, South Carolina, in 1990. I really enjoyed listening to his talk, as well as those of Dr. Bobby Moss and Tyler Blethen at the same seminar, and always wished afterward to schedule another interview with him, to clear up some questions I had concerning his book. Regrettably, however, the interview never came to pass before his death in the summer of 1997.

Several others--thankfully, very much alive--who have given invaluable assistance in this effort were John Merriman Gilmore, a member of the Forsyth County Soil and Water Conservation Commission, and the chairman of the Wagon Road Committee; John Rodney *Rod* Meyer, director of Historic Bethabara Park, and an outstanding investigator of the road; Michael *Mo* Hartley, program director of the Wachovia Tract Study, and chief archaeologist with the Bethania Historical Association; Merrikay Brown, librarian with the Lewisville Branch, Forsyth County Public Library, and archivist, as well as past-president, of the Lewisville Historical Society; LeAnn Pegram, Historic Preservation Planner with the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Planning Board, and a member of the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Joint Historical Properties Commission; and Glenn Simmons, another planner with the Planning Board. Several others whose assistance was absolutely essential are Andrew Mackie, Frances Harding Casstevens, and Arthur *Al* Hudson of the Yadkin County Historical and Geneological Society; Dr. J. Edwin *Ed* Hendricks and Dr. Ned Woodall, History and Anthropology professors respectively, at Wake Forest University; and Jo White Linn, a Certified Geneologist from Salisbury, whose *Abstracts of Rowan County Deeds* and *Abstracts of Rowan County Court Records*, as well as advice and encouragement, were absolutely indispensible. Frank Tursi and Mary Giunca, reporters for the Winston-Salem Journal, wrote several first-rate articles about the progress of this investigation into the true original route of the Great Wagon Road and modern-day political and societal attitudes toward it.

Thanks must also go to Julia Hegele and Bill Jones, public information officers with the Department of Transportation in Raleigh, and Mike Hill with the Archives and History Division of the Department of Cultural Resources, as well as the entire staff of the Archives and History Search Room--with too many of them involved, over a period of several years, to name here--for their invaluable help with the information concerning both the Granville land grants in present Forsyth, Stokes, Yadkin, and Davie counties, and the modern day historical markers of the area.

I also cannot forget to mention Daniel Crews, Archivist, and Richard Starbuck, Geneologist, of the Archives of the Moravian Church, Southern Province in Winston-Salem for their permission to publish the Moravian maps in their possession, without which this book would be incredibly incomplete and very hard, if not impossible, to understand. Richard is yet another one for whom this book is mainly written, he also being a descendant of early users of the Great Wagon Road, one of whom, indeed, was Johann Conrad, younger brother of my 4th great-grandfather Christian Conrad. Others that must be credited in this regard are Paul M. Peucker, Archivist of the Moravian Church, Herrnhut, Germany, and Vernon H. Nelson, Archivist of the Moravian Archives in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, both of them for permitting the

publication of several Moravian maps in their respective possessions.

Others that I would be amiss in forgetting are Dowell Lester, investigator of the Wagon Road in the Sandy Ridge area of northeastern Stokes County, and Dick Ziglar's cousin; and Dr. Francis Amos of Rocky Mount, Franklin County, Virginia, for his invaluable help in sorting out the truth concerning the Wagon Road from Roanoke to North Carolina, especially his home county of Franklin. Nancy Sorrells, a freelance researcher, formerly with the Virginia State Library, and working for them as a researcher at the Museum of American Frontier Culture in Staunton, Augusta County, Virginia--yet another town through which the Great Wagon Road traveled--has also been of great help and encouragement to me. Two more people I must thank here are Ed and Ellen Markel, owners of the *Inn at Narrow Passage*, Woodstock, Virginia. Few are the places where one can say that the Great Wagon Road definitely passed at that particular spot: this is one. That fact, and the Markels' assistance in locating yet more documentation for the road during my visit there in late September 1998, leaves me deep in their debt, and insures that I will return to the Inn in the future, and that our friendship will last for years to come.

Others that I must recognize, because their interest seems capable of becoming a strong catalyst for research into and interest in the history of the road, are the members of the Huntsville Heritage Committee, a local division of the Yadkin County Heritage Committee, accompanied by another spinoff organization, the Huntsville Historical and Geneological Society. Some members of the committees, like Al Hudson, Andrew Mackie, and Frances Casstevens, have already been named; others are: one, Ann Clingman White of Huntsville, a descendant of one of the early families of Huntsville and owner of the Kelly Tavern, the c. 1815 structure in the heart of Huntsville, and deservedly the first President of the Society; two, Ann Brownlee of Salisbury, a descendant of Captain Henry Francis, the only Whig killed at the Battle of Shallow Ford, 14 October 1780, who is currently researching the battle, which completed the rout of the Loyalist forces of western North Carolina, begun by the overwhelming Patriot victory of King's Mountain, one week before; and three, Richard L. Miller, the chairman of the Yadkin Heritage Committee and a Yadkin County Commissioner. The interest he has shown promises to stimulate much historical interest and generate much historical knowledge in the entire eleven county area connected with this history--Stokes, Surry, Wilkes, Forsyth, Yadkin, Davidson, Davie, Rowan, Iredell, Catawba, and Burke--and not just Yadkin County. Very significant among his contacts is Matthew Dolge, Director of the Northwest Piedmont Council of Governments, the government agency having informal oversight of the Wagon Road Committee. Word has been given to Richard that Matthew has promised renewed activity on our behalf, activity unengaged in since 1993, even by the Wagon Road Committee members, myself included.[2] Various other residents of Huntsville and the neighborhood have attended the Heritage Committee and Historical Society meetings at sundry times since their inception, including another that must be mentioned, Beverly York, owner of the new Battle Branch Cafe in Huntsville (named of course for the branch that borders the site of the Battle of Shallow Ford). Obviously, all of this very clearly indicates a

[2] My activity since that time on behalf of the Committee has been limited to the research for this book. When it finally gets published in hard form, I shall owe many people a very deep apology for taking as long as I have.

steadily increasing interest in historical investigation and preservation in the Huntsville area, the implications naturally being quite significant.

Others that must be thanked profusely for their support are the members of the Surry County Geneological Association, with former president Robert Holder, and current president Judy Stanley Cardwell, yet another cousin of Dick Ziglar. Others in the SCGA I must thank are Agnes Wells, Virginia Phillips, and Carole Leonard, authors of another source book for this one, *Joseph Winston, His Entry Book*, which contains some information about the Wagon Road in the Germanton area that has proven to be one of the keys to this investigation. Still more that have shown great interest are the staff of the Mount Airy Museum of Regional History, especially personnel director Linda Stanfield. Many historical connections with areas of the country far afield of Forsyth County must take Surry County into account, connections I discuss briefly in the book.

Also, I would be amiss if I did not state that this book is the product of the efforts of many people, over a period of perhaps fifty years--for only twelve of which I have been involved--and I am quite sure that I have forgotten some that should be thanked, not least due to the fact that many are people I never knew or heard of. To those who I have forgotten, I am truly sorry, and I hope they will forgive my unintended oversight, and to those I never met or knew, I wish I had. Both groups deserve as much thanks as many others that I have remembered and known.

Last of this list, but first in importance, is Richard Harden *Dick* Ziglar, for whose great encouragement for me in this inquiry cannot be thanked enough, as his repeated mention with others previously in these acknowledgements should strongly suggest. His former positions as chairman of the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Joint Historical Properties Commission, former chairman of the board for Historic Bethabara Park, and former vice-chairman of the Wachovia Historical Society attest to his great interest and knowledge, and were incalculably valuable to me, both personally and professionally. I would be less one good friend, and this book would not exist, without him.

Finally, these acknowledgements would be incomplete without thanking those who have passed on: the late Joe Carroll Matthews, former director of the Northwest Piedmont Council of Governments, as well as Executive Secretary of the Wagon Road Committee, who died in 1998, and was the real guiding force for the Committee since its inception in 1984, though I am quite sure he would modestly say that he wasn't, and that it was *our* committee; and especially the late Glenn Galloway *Buck* Reynolds, who died in 1993, while this work was still in progress. His well-deserved status as Lewisville historian has now passed into my very inadequate hands, and his wit, wisdom, and friendship has been and will be sorely missed and needed. His final, and still uncompleted, project was a proposed park at the Shallow Ford on the Yadkin River: ironically, the crossing for the Great Wagon Road. It is my firm hope that I may yet see this project fulfilled, adding yet another reason for this book: to recognize Buck's tireless efforts of over forty years to bring official recognition to the historic Shallow Ford and the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road.

INTRODUCTION

Historical Causes

The modern concept of historic preservation, it has seemed to me for a number of years, is a concept in a crisis of definition. It seems to be popularly thought of as preservative of old houses, buildings, and sites, i.e., physical artifacts. This is unquestionably laudable, and an idea I have always applauded, but to my way of thinking incomplete, because the proper concept behind it ought to be one of preservation of all kinds of historic artifacts. For lack of a better term, these should include the *philosophical artifacts*, as it were, of the ideas and ideals of the people involved with these physical ones: their socio-political, ethno-historical and religio-economic beliefs[3] that undergird the creation of the Great Wagon Road and, indeed, the entire country, and the *truth* about all of them. Indeed, it should be abundantly clear that any real value of physical artifacts depends entirely on philosophical ones. It should also not be forgotten, that one should not attempt to understand the past through the philosophical lenses of the present, which is to engage in historical revisionism, not historical research. An understanding of the past clearly requires reading through the original documents of the time, and seeing where they lead you, not to engage in speculation over whether they would be right for today. As has been said before, the past is a foreign country, they do things differently there; but not, led me hasten to add, so that we cannot recognize the reasons behind their actions, which are virtually the same reasons that motivate people today.

The inspiration--or perhaps more accurately, *aggravation*--behind the creation of the Great Wagon Road in the mid-18th century lies in the larger political context of the reasons for the settling of this country, mainly in the reactions to the mercantilistic policies of England, France, Germany, Holland, and Spain. These policies led to the exodus of thousands from the wars of Europe to the New World, many Englishmen, Scots-Irishmen, and Germans especially coming to the mid-Atlantic colonies of Pennsylvania, Maryland, New Jersey, and Delaware. The great majority of them were drawn by, first among many things, the official religious toleration of both Pennsylvania and Maryland. The subsequently high price of land, exacerbated by both Parliament's and those colonies' resultantly exorbitant taxes, as well as the very antagonistic nature of some of the religious denominations so drawn to them toward each other, led to a great migration from them to the south and southwest, and the southern colonies of Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. And this, of course, meant additional roads for the wagons of settlers.

This volume is intended to be Volume One of an eventual three-volume set called *Historic Roads of Forsyth County*, with the *Shallow Ford to Cape Fear Road* of 1754-55 as the second, and the 1848-54 *Bethania to Fayetteville Plank Road* as the third. The

[3] Much of this formulation is based on my own beliefs in these areas. *Socio-political* conveys the thought that people are by nature political, as discussed by Plato and Aristotle. *Ethno-historical* bears the idea that different ethnic groups have had their history shaped by many forces and conditions beyond their control, such as geography and weather. *Religio-economic* relates to the thought that ones' ultimate truth (as it were, ones' God) is reflected best in the attitude they have toward their property and the proper use of it. If one has a somewhat diminished sense of man's duty to God (such as, not believing in a God, or believing mankind owes Him no allegiance), then they will believe that the medium of economic exchange (more or less, their money) is not any one person's, but belongs to the state.

three volumes will make a complete set of the most significant roads of settlement and commerce constructed in Forsyth County in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but they are or will be written to stand alone, also. One will not need to read all to appreciate--or denigrate--each one. A fourth companion volume intended to be, more or less, the Appendix to the entire set, and tentatively titled *Historic Families of Forsyth County*, will examine some of the geneological information of families presented in the three former volumes, the date of completion to which this author has no clue. A fifth book, with the self-explanatory title of *Historic Preservation Hall of Shame*, will document the loss of historic structures and sites in Forsyth County, with some few excursions into the surrounding areas, whose histories are closely connected with Forsyth County. The file for this book, unfortunately, grows fatter with each passing day; indeed, so much so that just one volume may possibly be too inadequate to even consider. It is shaping up to be by far the largest volume of the entire set, perhaps doubling its size. Of its completion date, I have even less of a clue than for the fourth volume.

The author has undertaken the investigation into the Wagon Road for two main reasons: one, to ferret out the true *earliest*[4] route of the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road in Forsyth County, including the philosophical inspirations behind its creation both here and elsewhere; and two, to awaken greater awareness of the old road, in both its original route and later ones, that was so important in the development of Forsyth and several neighboring counties. This second reason implies a third: that of preserving as much of the remnants of the Wagon Road as possible, which in itself also implies an important connection with the fifth volume of the set.

Forsyth County, North Carolina, one of the premier counties the Great Wagon Road crossed, in terms of historical documentation is clearly the most well-documented one in the Piedmont, and yet has the most controversy of them all surrounding it. The historical investigation into the route of the Wagon Road, and its social and political significance, are two major areas of conflict. This fact can be demonstrated by simply looking at the different stages of my investigation over the years. During these eleven and a half years--May 1987 to January 1999--that I've been a member of the Great Wagon Road Preservation Committee, and as Vice-Chairman since June 1990, I have, in turn, believed in four different routes for the Wagon Road, such being the confusion arising from previous investigations of this elusive path. Adding to this historical muddle was a fifth route, running from Forsyth County south to the Trading Ford and Salisbury, now partially following, more or less, N. C. Highway 150, a route supported by several historical heavyweights, including the late historian Hugh Talmage Lefler.

Historical investigation, historical revisionism, and Forsyth County

One undoubtable aspect of historical investigation is that every historian--including Mr. Lefler--is (or was) well acquainted with the fact that history is both active and in many cases repetitive to a great degree, as the philosopher George Santayana once said; i.e., *He who ignores the past is doomed to repeat it.* The historical mistakes of the past are, therefore, embodied in the present and potentially though innocently

[4] The Great Wagon Road, confirmed by this research, was rerouted within present Forsyth County in 1770-71.

personal, facts that obviously should be remembered, guarded against ceaselessly, and constantly expounded. As is very obvious, a large portion of Forsyth County is now urban and growing more so daily, as indeed it must to even survive. And yet, regrettably, it is doing so increasingly at the expense of old and historic sites, not to mention the philosophical inspirations behind their creation. Of great interest to this point is something I both applaud and regret: the decision of the Lewisville Town Council to construct the Lewisville Town Square, beginning in 1996 and completed in 1998. The Square has turned out to be beautiful, and is, deservedly so, a focal point of the community. The new street on its north side will, as soon as it is cut in, be named Great Wagon Road, *in commemoration* of the original road which passed through part of the Town Square. This recognition is of course something to be congratulated--because of their recognition that Lewisville and Forsyth County would not be what they are but for the Great Wagon Road--but in order to cut the new road, the remains of the original road at that spot had to be destroyed. Mary Giunca, a columnist with the Winston-Salem Journal, stated in her column written after my interview:

> *The historical record is pretty clear. Rod Meyer, the director of Bethabara Park, traced the road's route about five years ago.[5] He said that the road ran through the square and the ruts came from wagons.[6]*
>
> *Hank Chilton, Lewisville's mayor,[7] has been stung by criticism of the project. His ancestors came to these parts on the Great Wagon Road.*
>
> *"There's the implication that we've marred history," he said.*
>
> *Chilton said that the town will preserve the memory of the road through a marker, a museum and a road name.*
>
> *A road that was going to be called Laugenour Road has been renamed Great Wagon Road.*
>
> *One is reminded of the old joke about developers naming subdivision streets for the things they destroyed--Deer Run or Tall Pine Drive, for example.*
>
> *Which brings us to the chief irony of this project. The point of building a square was to create the atmosphere of an old-fashioned town.*
>
> *Why, then, was real history ignored in the pursuit of a late 20th century town-square fantasy?*
>
> *Certainly you can preserve the road's memory, but it's easier to preserve a memory when you have a memento.*
>
> *It's tough to see why the ruts couldn't have been incorporated into the square's design in some way.*
>
> *But the town of Lewisville isn't the only force that is chipping away at the Great*

[5] This author was, naturally, very involved in this research, it being in his hometown. The ruts mentioned here have been known by many people for years: see next footnote.

[6] Some people have said that the ruts were from farm plows, the remains of a corn field that was planted to the edge of the road. But the road that is now Bellenet Drive used to run behind the old Lagenauer House, and was not opposite where the road runs now, but crossed North Street about twenty feet south of it, meaning that these ruts were the remains of the original road.

[7] Henry M. Chilton was Lewisville's mayor on 9 November 1997, the publication date of the article, and has since been succeeded by Robert Stebbins.

Wagon Road.

In the past five years, about 25 percent of the 24 mile road has been bulldozed for subdivisions, strip malls and a trailer park.

Stimson said that if the Northern beltway goes through as planned, it will destroy another section.

History rarely disappears in one fell swoop. It is erased in bits and pieces. And as this road goes, so go other pieces of county history.

In many places, the past is becoming pavement.

We replace the eloquent reminders of our past with the bright, the shiny and sometimes even the downright ugly.

When you stand under the pine in Lewisville's square and look at the remaining ruts of the legendary road, you're moved to ask the same question generations of travelers have:

"Where are we going?" [8]

Mary's words sum up the very ironic nature of this emotional paradox better than anything I could ever write. The Lewisville Town Square is indeed beautiful, and a great asset to the incorporated town many people, including myself, worked hard to achieve. But what value can anything in the town have, when to achieve this very worthy goal the very thing that led to the formation of the town is destroyed in the process?

I must also agree wholeheartedly with Mo Hartley, my archaeologist friend from Bethania, that the 20th century has been very harsh with 18th century artifacts. Like the remains of the Road on the Town Square in Lewisville, the last two large sections of the Wagon Road existing within the city limits of Winston-Salem, the county seat, fell victim in recent years to two trailer park at one spot and a housing development at another, as indeed the original idea of minimal government in this country, and sometimes, it seems, especially this county, has been supressed more and more by the growth of overweening, micro-managerial, and very inimical government control.

Investigative criteria

One, Land Grants

Each of the five routes, with one possible exception, has been seriously argued as the earliest track, and each still has its supporters. This fact demonstrates convincingly the need for as complete a set of investigative criteria as can be, criteria that can be applied to each position, against which all historical theories can be tested. First, and of supreme importance, the Road should be mentioned in an old land grant or deed, and a rough approximation of its location should be discernable from the document. In the days when the Great Wagon Road was first cut and used (1750-70), Lord John Carteret, Earl of Granville (1690-1763) held title to most of the northern half of North

[8] Giunca, Mary, ***Progress?*** *History may be lost on Lewisville's square*, Winston-Salem Journal, Nov. 9, 1997, p. B-1. Also, as of early November 1998, the pine tree referred to here has been cut, in preparation for cutting the new road, which will finally destroy the last remaining ruts of the original road.

Carolina, and his name appears on most land grants in Bladen, Anson, and Rowan counties within his District from 1744, when he became Earl Granville on the death of his mother, to 1763, the year of his own death. Sometimes a Granville grant refers only to the corners of the tract and the owners of land adjacent to it, if there were any, and sometimes also to geographic features such as a creek or a river. A very fortunate thing about the Granville Grants is that all of them refer to an official survey map accompanying the deed; indeed, a settler was required to have a survey made of the property before he could obtain a grant.[9]

Two, Maps

Maps, therefore, are the second criterion, especially the existence of these Granville plat maps, about half of which are yet extant. The downside to this is that the other half of the Granville plat maps, including many in this area that are absolutely necessary to ensure complete accuracy of one's claim, are now lost; but this information is still valuable to an historical researcher in that we know that these maps once existed, holding out the hope, slender though it is, that someday the maps may be found. A very useful supplement to these would be a large map depicting not only the tract of land mentioned in the deed, but also showing the lot in relation to its neighbors over a large area. The lack of such a map for either North Carolina in general, or the Granville District in particular, was a grave disappointment to the Moravians at the beginning of their survey journey at Edenton in 1752, as indeed it also was to Sir Francis Corbin, Lord Granville's colonial agent.[10] Such is now very fortunately the case in much of Forsyth County, due to the existence of several maps, inspired by this very lack of a map of the Granville District, by the Moravian surveyor-cartographer Philip Christian Gottlieb Reuter (1717-1777), maps of phenominal quality that were drawn from 1758 to at least 1773, four years before his death. Many of these maps are reproduced by permission of the Moravian Archives in these pages.

Three, Diaries and Living History

Clearly, these land grants and plat maps necessarily involve the people to whom the land was granted, many of whose descendants, very fortunately, still inhabit the area. The third criterion, therefore, is the recollection of longtime residents of the area, people who remember when the Wagon Road was in use, and what it was called at the time; in several cases, the Great Wagon Road has been called exactly that in living memory, generally by people who have maintained the memories of their original settler ancestors. In addition, a major supplement to this includes extant journals and diaries of the grandparents and great-grandparents of these older residents, as well as official records or diaries such as the Records of the Moravians, source books quoted quite often in this volume, or the journals of Anglican minister Charles Woodmason of the 1760's and Methodist Bishop Francis Asbury of the late 1780's, which are only mentioned in passing.

Four, Tracks on the Ground

The fourth criterion also, though only indirectly, involves the people who still

[9] See page 67.

[10] See pages 49-50.

remember the old road. If a road was used in living memory, even though it has now been abandoned, its traces cannot have completely disappeared. Indeed, unless the old roadbed has been obliterated by some large construction project--unfortunately, a circumstance occurring today with increasing frequency--a careful observer can detect remnants of a passage, faint though it may be. Thus, if a visible track on the ground itself is remembered as the Great Wagon Road by a living person, was mentioned in that person's ancestor's diary, is in a location compatible with its depiction on a map roughly contemporary with its creation, and is mentioned in the original land grant, that old track--tested by all four criteria--is undeniably the Great Wagon Road. To locate the original and oldest route of the Wagon Road, using these four criteria, is the burden of this book.

Criteria: Conclusions

It is obvious that roads have been changed, rerouted, abandoned, and even destroyed over the years, usually because of social shifts and the subsequent plowing under of the old roadbeds. Even in the very early days of settlement, people cutting a new road near an existing one must have realized that even a slight change of direction, as they became more and more acquainted with the topography over the years, would cut off a large loop in that original road and shorten the distance from one place to another. All of this proves that our ancestors acted exactly as we do, of course, and for precisely the same reasons. Clearly, this also happened with the Great Wagon Road, a claim that is indeed proven by the research presented in this volume. The main road through any area in the early to mid 1750's--particularly in our area, such a date would be at or near its inception--might have been, and probably was, superceded by another road, or even *roads*, by the 1820's, in the first major internal improvements project in North Carolina.[11] Indeed, the original road was probably almost forgotten by then, having been changed countless times. What grandpa told was probably not what his great-great-grandfather told his grandchildren, a fact that has become increasingly obvious to those of us who have read through the original documents, and also by reading through the claims made by those today who have not. This obvious amnesia in historical matters on the part of a considerable number of people is one of the most unbelievably ironic aspects of the investigation, especially in present Forsyth County, probably the most thoroughly documented one in North Carolina that the Wagon Road passed through.[12]

Thus, we should not be surprised if some people contend that the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road ran through the colonial town of Bethania, while others believe it ran between Bethania and Bethabara. More than likely, both routes were

[11] Many stage roads were cut in North Carolina in the 1820's, one of which is closely examined in this volume, being intimately connected with this research.

[12] The North Carolina counties it traveled through were Stokes, Forsyth, Yadkin, Davie, Iredell, Catawba, Lincoln, and Gaston: based on the date of Sherrill's Path--1747--from Sherrill's Ford on the Catawba River to the Shallow Ford on the Yadkin River, cut through the very area of the Bryant's Settlement, organized the next year. Exactly where it went from the Shallow Ford through present Forsyth and Stokes Counties in 1747 has remained a mystery. The earliest reference this researcher has been able to find for a road from the Germanton area directly to the Shallow Ford is the Moravian road of February 1754, the claim explored in Chapter Three.

used, perhaps at different periods of time, or under differing weather conditions.[13]

Knowing as I do both authors of this passage, Frances Casstevens and John Gilmore, fellow members of the Wagon Road Committee, I must wholeheartedly applaud their attempt here to be fair to all sides in the investigation, a quality lacking in far too many people. It must necessarily be said, however, in light of the research, and of course the subsequently discovered historical documentation concerning the Great Wagon Road embodied in this book, the belief presented above unfortunately reflects, on the part of one party alluded to within it, a confusion of ideology with investigation, a very regrettable aspect of historical inquiry in this area, and one that has only clouded the investigation into the real route of the road. This rather *politically correct* stance, as it were--virtually a case of historical *revision* rather than *investigation*--the confirmation of which description will be amply proven later, is of great significance to this investigation because of extremely ironic similarities between certain beliefs of both the mid to late 18th century and the present day, and is necessarily explained in great detail later in this volume.

Politically correct "investigation," also obviously, is not the only roadblock to true research and documentation. Another distressing aspect of this inquiry, on the part of a preservationist like myself,[14] is that of the construction of several superhighways in the area, which occasionally follow, for a short distance, the same route as some of these early roads, occurences which have completely altered the topography of large areas of the county, and which will unfortunately continue in the future, due to more highway projects in and around Forsyth County.[15] Also, ignorance and apathy play a major part in development plans in Forsyth County today, a *virulent apathy*, for lack of a better term, infecting many in official circles, leaving historical preservation with few voices in support of it.

Historical investigation: Amateur and Professional

The research on the route of the Wagon Road, as is obvious from the preceding paragraph, has encompassed a wide range of efforts, from the scholarly work of archaeologist Mo Hartley and historian Ed Hendricks, and geneological inquiry by the late Howell Boone--a descendant of John Boone, Daniel's uncle--to the amateur

[13] Casstevens, Frances Harding and Gilmore, John Merryman, *The Road To Everywhere*, unpublished book, n. d., p.5, hereafter called 'Casstevens, *Road To Everywhere.*'

[14] The profession of this author is not historian, but rather building contractor and developer, seemingly a profession at complete odds with historic preservation. There is nothing further from the truth: there is no necessary conflict between preservation and development, development clearly being able to incorporate historical sites within it. All that is required is the willingness to preserve such sites.

[15] One of these highway projects is the Northern Beltway, from Highway 158 near Hope Moravian Church east of Clemmons to U. S. Highway 52 near Rural Hall, which will destroy a section of the Wagon Road near where it crosses Robinhood Road northeast of Lewisville.

Another such project from the past was the construction of Smith Reynolds Airport, which buried a section of the original Deep River Road, now partially Indiana Avenue and a section of Liberty Street. It also, obviously, would do no good to complain of such things, because of the benefits of such construction; and because of the recognition that even if the original road was thereby destroyed, the newer road still follows the route of the old one. What better complement could be made to the original builders of the road than to recognize its route's continued applicability centuries later?

examinations of myself and others. Much of the early research, during the 30 or so years before the Wagon Road Committee was organized or the Northwest Piedmont Council of Governments became the coordinator of the effort, was based primarily on the investigations of amateurs merely interested in preserving their own traditions, traditions which, whatever else may be said of them in this volume, are of at least *some* value, containing more than a little truth in them. This was generally not done by direct field research into the deeds, grants, and maps of the time, surprisingly, or anything else except the extant routes of old roads and local or family traditions concerning them. These facts were related to me by many--though not all--of those investigating the Road before I joined the Wagon Road Committee in May 1987. Others, though, within a short period of time did start research into the documentary evidence in the different county Register of Deeds offices and the Archives in Raleigh, realizing the necessary link, as many others had in other subjects in years past, between these records and the geneological and cartographic value of them. The official recognition of the Committee as a genuine investigational organization with the North Carolina 400th Anniversary Committee in 1984, which was organized as its Stokes County part by the late Mayor J. G. H. *Gid* Mitchell of Walnut Cove, eventually changed the nature of the investigation substantially, attracting many real historical researchers to its ranks, Mo Hartley, Rod Meyer, Ned Woodall, and Ed Hendricks among them.

Thus the stage was set for the truth concerning the Wagon Road to become known to a much wider audience, particularly in this historically significant area of the northern Piedmont of North Carolina. Thus also was the possibility of greater conflict between those dedicated to finding the truth of the matter, whatever it may turn out to be, and those still addicted to proving their route was the Great Wagon Road, in spite of historical documentation to the contrary. Also, because of the continuing controversy concerning the route of the Wagon Road--and additionally because of, unfortunately, the virtual disbandment of the Wagon Road Committee since 1993--no genuine compilation of the official documentation of the road has been made. But with the publication of this volume, the fruit of the efforts of many, and the long-awaited rekindling of interest and reauthorization of the Committee on the part of Matthew Dolge, Director of the Northwest Piedmont Council of Governments in April 1998, the truth concerning The Great Philadelphia Wagon Road in Forsyth County, sought by many over the years, will at last become known. And when considering who to give credit to, I can claim very little, for my investigation was inspired by the many others who preceded me in this effort. The ultimate thanks for this must go to them.

CHAPTER ONE: "HIGHWAY #1"

Beginnings

The chief premise of Frederick Jackson Turner's thesis was that the *American frontier has always determined the American character.* His thesis takes us back to the original frontier of English North America, to its genesis at Roanoke Island, the Lost Colony of Sir Walter Raleigh, Ralph Lane, and John White, the first permanent English settlements around Jamestown, Virginia, the second at Plymouth, Massachusetts, and how they were tested in the crucibles of religious persecution, expatriotism, and war. The most distinctive characteristic of this ever-expanding frontier was that it always pushed the boundaries of the society toward the far horizon, to ever newer sights and challenges. These challenges in social, political, economic, and religious belief and practice in the middle years of the 18th century led to a great migration and settlement, a settlement dependent, not on the English homeland, but a land all its own, with a polyglot society of Germans, English, Scots-Irish, French Huguenots, native Indians of many tribes and nations, an ever-growing stew of ethnicity, politics, and religious traditions that created a real American society.

The ferment of this was rich and varied, with controversies that spanned the gamut of contemporary significance and modern applicability, containing many social, economic, political, and religious overtones, of both then and now. This ferment in only a few years led to the dissolution of *the political bands which have connected*[16] the colonies with the mother country, and was also accompanied by a continually increasing migration into the wilderness. Has indeed the American frontier always determined the American character? If true, then the American character, in the three portentious decades before the American Revolution, 1744 to 1774, was greatly influenced by the people who cut and lived near the *Great Philadelphia Wagon Road*, the first truly national road.

The Great Wagon Road. The words conjure up visions of laden wagons drawn by oxen or horses, with hardy settlers fleeing high land prices, religious intolerance and persecution, or political oppression. The road, hardly able to be called such, passes through inhospitable wilderness where attacks by both Indians and highwaymen take place with distressing regularity, and its travelers come to know extreme privation, hardship, and sometimes even find death in their search for a place of their own. Sometimes they hope against hope that they will find a place where, with hard work and a little bit of luck, they will live in peace and freedom.

This 18th century road from Philadelphia to the backcountry of Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia was arguably the most significant road in terms of the westward expansion of the United States, a road cut and rerouted many times before the American Revolution--one major rerouting having taken place in present Forsyth County--and over half a century before Lewis and Clark made that most important of all exploratory journeys, their expedition through the Louisiana Territory from 1804 to 1806. Indeed, it could be said that the western trails, beginning with the *Daniel Boone Trail*,[17] would not have even existed without the previous existence of the Great

[16] Taken from the introduction to the Declaration of Independence.

[17] The Daniel Boone Trail was originally called the *Mulberry Fields Road*; references to it are throughout this book.

Wagon Road. From this standpoint, the *Great Philadelphia Wagon Road* was the route for the beginning of expansionism on the North American continent.

Historical connections

The main purpose of this volume is to lay out, in sufficient detail, the historical significance of the Great Wagon Road, concentrating on the documentation of the route mainly by looking at the people who settled near it. It must be advised, though, that the historical significance of the Great Wagon Road in present Forsyth County is intimately connected with at least five other colonial routes. The oldest ones are: one, the *Great Trading Path* from Fort Henry--now Petersburg, Virginia--originally a series of Indian paths from the James River to the Appalachian Mountains originally called the *Occaneechi Trail*--named after the Indian village near the present Clarksville, Virginia--which was also John Lederer's path of exploration of 1670 (as well as Hernando DeSoto's route of exploration, 1540-42, and Juan Pardo's, 1567); and two, the *Great Valley Road*, cut through the Shenandoah Valley and points southwest from the Potomac, partially the same route as the Wagon Road, of c. 1739-46.[18] The three later ones are; one, the *Shallow Ford to Cape Fear Road*, a colonial trade route of 1754-55,[19] and the subject of Volume Two; two, the *Mulberry Fields Road*, the westward extension of the Cape Fear Road, surveyed by and now named for Daniel Boone, of 1748-70;[20] and three, the *Bethania-Hollow-New River Road*, cut sometime between 20 February and 18 May 1762[21] from Bethania (in the Wachovia Tract of present Forsyth County) through the Hollow Settlement, now Mt. Airy, to Fort Chiswell in the New River valley, a major trading post on the *Wilderness Road*--the southern part of the Great Valley Road--to the Cumberland Gap and Kentucky. Brief mention must be made of all five in this volume.

The Great Warriors' Path, Trading Path, and their history, c. 1400-1701

The Iroquois, Cherokee, etc., and the Athawominee

Much of the early history of the Wagon Road is now lost in the mists of time, amidst

[18] Extrapolated from the founding of the Borden Settlement (now Rockbridge County, Va.) in 1739. Also, this is somewhat misleading: there were actually three routes, all historically documented, that paralleled, merged, and crossed each other through the Great Valley from the Potomac to the Staunton. One should probably be more accurately called the Great Valley Road, the second the Great Wagon Road, and the third the Great Warriors' Path; see n. 75, p. 25. Also, the Moravians do not mention traveling over Natural Bridge in 1753, although they had to go nearby; see Fries, Adelaide, *Diary Of A Journey Of Moravians From Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, To Bethabara In Wachovia, North Carolina, 1753*, the ninth account in *Travels In The American Colonies*, ed. Newton Mereness, auspices of the National Society of Colonial Dames of America, MacMillan Co., 1916, p. 341; hereafter called "Fries, *Diary*."

[19] The Shallow Ford to Cape Fear Road was started by residents of the present Fayetteville area c. 1752-53, authorized by the Colonial Assembly of North Carolina in 1754, and completed to the present Forsyth County in June of the following year: a reference to be thoroughly discussed in Chapter Two.

[20] Probably originated as the 'driveway' to the first Morgan Bryant house, the site in present Yadkin County five miles west of the Shallow Ford, 1748; Christopher Gist is documented to have lived at the Mulberry Fields in 1750, before his survey of the Ohio River valley, 1750-1754, as is shown on the 1755 update of the 1751 Joshua Fry-Peter Jefferson map; the Rowan County road order for the wagon road to Mulberry Fields is dated 15 February 1770.

[21] Proven by reference to the Moravian Diaries: Vol. I, pp. 243, 249.

the unrecorded legends of the various Indian nations of North America in centuries past. The chief predecessor of the Wagon Road was known as the *Athawominee* or *Great Warriors' Path*,[22] which began in upstate New York, in the areas controlled by the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, created c. 1570 by the Mohawk chief Hiawatha,[23] passing south through the Cumberland Valley of central Pennsylvania, and the Great Valley of Virginia--the Shenandoah, James, Roanoke, New, and Holston river valleys. It also traveled south through the future North Carolina to the lands of the Ushery or Catawba, a Siouan tribe of the border area of North and South Carolina near Charlotte; the Cherokee, an Iroquoian tribe of the mountains and foothills of western North and South Carolina, north Georgia, and east Tennessee; and the Creek, a Muskogean tribe of southern Georgia and Alabama.[24] A main offshoot of the Warriors' Path also branched through the Cumberland Gap to the Shawnee lands of Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio.[25]

Spanish and English Explorations of the Trading Path, 1540-1701

The arrival of Europeans on the continent in the early to mid sixteenth century, however, presents another picture. One of their earliest incursions into present North Carolina was that of Hernando DeSoto's exploration of 1540-42. Another was Juan Pardo's of 1567. Both were possibly the first European travelers on the Occaneechi Trail, and both visited a number of Indian towns of the Catawba valley, one being Cofitachequi:

> *What remains of the town is an assemblage of mounds on the riverbank outside Camden, South Carolina, an aristocratic little city with deep memories of the Confederacy and the Revolution. From here the trail follows the river to Charlotte, North Carolina, where the Wateree, now drowned by dams, assumes a new name, Catawba, and bends west toward the mountains. Somewhere along its banks was Joara (a town Soto had called Xuala). Charles Hudson places it near Marion, North Carolina, probably in the fertile floodplain called locally the McDowell Bottom.*[26]

Pardo may even have reached the Yadkin valley, for it is very possible that Guatari, mentioned in Pardo's journal as a village where he established a mission and fort, was later called Sapona Town,[27] at the Trading Ford east of Salisbury, the Yadkin crossing for the Great Trading Path from Fort Henry. The Trading Ford is also significant for the first trade journey of James Needham and Gabriel Arthur in 1672-73,

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[22] Kincaid, Robert, *The Wilderness Road*, Bobbs-Merrill, 1947, p. 30; hereafter called 'Kincaid, *Road*.'

[23] Gilbert, William H., *Hiawatha*, World Book, Vol. 8, Chicago: Field Enterprises, 1962, p. 206.

[24] Rouse, Parke S., Jr., *The Great Wagon Road: From Philadelphia to the South*, New York, McGraw-Hill, 1973, hereafter called 'Rouse, *Road*.'

[25] Kincaid, *Road*, p. 30.

[26] Judge, Joseph, *Exploring Our Forgotten Century*, National Geographic, March 1988, pp. 353-354. From Marion south, then east, was also the route of the Overmountain Men from Sycamore Shoals (Elizabethton, Tennessee) to King's Mountain in 1780. Joseph McDowell, cousin of the Major Joseph McDowell of King's Mountain fame, lived at the Pleasant Meadows southwest of Marion on the Catawba. The house yet stands in the town named for it. Archives and History places DeSoto's route further into the mountains, in Jackson, Macon, Clay, and Cherokee Counties.

[27] Both the author and anthropologist Dr. Ned Woodall of Wake Forest University are of this opinion.

to the Overhill Cherokee capital of Chota on the Little Tennessee River. Needham left Arthur at Chota while he reported back to General Wood at Fort Henry, and was murdered at the Ford on his return journey from there in 1673.[28] Arthur became the first white man of record to pass through the Cumberland Gap later that same year:

> *. . .Arthur remained with the Tomahitan for the rest of the winter. . .In a fight with the Shawnee in Ohio Arthur received two arrow wounds and was taken prisoner. . . The Shawnee agreed to let him return to the Tomahitan. . . Arthur journeyed south in the spring of 1674, along a trail already famous in the vague and unrecorded history of the aborigines and destined to be of vital importance in the settlement of the West by white men a full century later. Unlettered as he was, he kept no written record of his impressions and discoveries but, camping out under skies which later looked down on Daniel Boone, he was pioneering in an adventure no less great than the experiences of the first Kentucky hunters. He came upon frequent salt licks where Indians often camped and hunted, crossed the lands of central Kentucky ribbed by hills and drained by pretty streams and came into the heavy shadows of southeastern Kentucky where the Shawnee River (Cumberland) broke out of a jumble of mountains.*
>
> *The trail led Arthur into the Cumberland Mountains, called by the Shawnee the Wasioto, "mountains where the deer are plentiful," and to the great cleft in the range now known as Cumberland Gap. It passed into the rich valleys of East Tennessee and brought Arthur back to the big village[29] of the Tomahitan[30] on the Tennessee, which he had left some months before. Here he was received joyfully by the friendly chief, who had given him up for lost.*
>
> *Within a few days Arthur, accompanied by his Indian godfather, started back to Fort Henry to report to General Wood. He arrived there on June 18, 1674, after more than a year's absence. General Wood had already learned of the unhappy fate of Needham and he welcomed Arthur as one returned from the dead. He immediately recounted Arthur's wanderings to John Richards, of London, agent of the Lords Proprietors of the Carolinas, and anticipated an increase in trade with the distant Indians whom Arthur had visited.*[31]

The Trading Ford and Sapona Town are also mentioned prominently in John Lawson's journal of 1701, and published by him in 1709, concerning his journey from Charleston to the Pamlico Sound area that year, the last major exploration of the North and South Carolina backcountry:

> *We pass'd by the Sepulcres of several slain Indians. Coming, that day, about 30 miles, we reach'd the fertile and pleasant banks of Sapona River, whereon stands*

[28] Kincaid, *Road*, pp. 28-30.

[29] This Cherokee town was probably Chota; the Fire King of Chota was accorded the overlord of all the Cherokee. This one was possibly Apalatchee himself, for whom the Appalachian Mountains were named. Two later ones were Connecorte, also called 'Old Hop,' and Oconastota, under whom the Cherokee Nation was at its most influential.

[30] An earlier name for the Cherokee.

[31] Kincaid, *Road*, pp. 30-32.

the Indian Town and Fort. Nor could all Europe afford a pleasanter stream, were it inhabited by Christians, and cultivated by ingenious Hands. These Indians live in a clear field, about a Mile square, which they would have sold me; because I talked sometimes of coming into those Parts to live. This most pleasant River may be something broader than the Thames at Kingston, keeping a constant pleasant warbling Noise, with its reverberating on the bright Marble Rocks.[32]

Batts and Fallam, the "Golden Horseshoe", and the Border Survey

Three other journeys bear directly on the history of the Wagon Road, also. The first of these was taken in August and September, 1671 by Thomas Batts and Robert Fallam, who had also been commissioned by Governor William Berkeley and General Abraham Wood (commander at Fort Henry from 1645 to the late 1670's), the year before Needham and Arthur made their fateful journey. On this trip Batts and Fallam discovered the Great Warriors' Path very near the Staunton River Gap, now Roanoke, continuing down what later became the Wilderness Road to the New River valley, ending where the New runs by Peters Mountain and becomes the Kanawha,[33] now at the line between Virginia and West Virginia. The second was the one taken in 1716 by Governor Alexander Spotswood of Virginia and his *Order of the Golden Horseshoe*, from Germanna, near the present Flat Run, Orange County, Virginia, the site of the original town located on the campus of Germanna Community College:

The governor and his courtiers found easy going for the first three days out of Germanna. The Indian and hunting trails were plain and the land was open and rolling. But as the party moved deeper into the hills, the forest became thick and impenetrable. They crossed many streams, were plagued with hornets and other insects, and their clothes were torn by overhanging limbs. Five days out, they came to the base of a mountain towering to a great height. After an arduous climb to the peak, they arrived at Swift Run Gap in the afternoon of September 5, 1716, where they looked down upon a broad valley of limitless scope.

Charmed by the magnificent panorama spread before them, Spotswood called for drinks all around. The kegs were tapped and the gentlemen drank to the health of the King, then to the members of the party. Thus refreshed, the excited party rode down the western slopes into the valley never before reached by white men. They waded through grass and pea vines as high as their horses and came upon a beautiful river, called by the Indians the Shenandoah, "the daughter of the stars." Spotswood promptly dubbed it the "Euphrates."

The horsemen crossed the river, buried a bottle with a paper claiming all the territory beyond for King George I, partook of a feast of turkey and deer and finished off with the currants, grapes and cucumbers that grew in abundance all about them. Then they drank to the King's health again, and fired a volley. They

[32] Lawson, John, *A New Voyage to Carolina*, 1709, reprint, UNC Press, 1967, p. 52. Lawson was killed by the Tuscarora in 1711, the first fatality of the 1711-1715 Tuscarora War. Lawson's Creek at New Bern is named for him.

[33] Kincaid, *Road*, pp. 24-27. Batts and Fallam originally named the New *Wood's River*, after General Wood. The claim that Abraham Wood discovered the New River in 1654 is based on less credible evidence, although it is still possible.

drank to the Princess' health, and fired another volley, to Spotswood's health, and fired a third volley. The cavalier celebrants were making much of their discovery of a virgin paradise.

Spotswood and his horsemen stood about midway in the great rectangular basin lying between the Blue Ridge and the Alleghenies, where Massnutten Mountain splits the valley.[34] Two hundred miles in length and from twenty to seventy miles broad, boxed in on the east and west by parallel mountain ranges, and separated from the western waters on the southwest by the divide where the James and Roanoke Rivers head, this magnificent valley was drained by the Shenandoah and its tributaries flowing northeastward into the Potomac River.[35]

After the party returned to Williamsburg--and considering their celebration in the Valley, a *party* indeed--Spotswood commissioned a small horseshoe of gold (hence their name) for each member, inscribed with the motto, *Sic Jurat Transcendere Montes*, --Thus he swears to cross the mountains.[36]

The third such trip was the official survey of the boundary between Virginia and North Carolina, from the Roanoke River to Peters Creek between Stokes County, North Carolina and Patrick County, Virginia, conducted by Colonel William Byrd II (1674-1744) in 1728. A large grant of land was made by North Carolina authorities to Colonel Byrd, now located on the Dan River. Byrd named it *A New-found Eden*. The modern city of Eden, Rockingham County, is now located on it.[37] This survey has great significance to the history surrounding the Great Wagon Road, and will be examined in full later.

Near the end of the survey, according to Colonel Byrd's official journal *Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, the surveyors were very anxious to end the survey, due to the presence of the Iroquois on the trail they had just crossed, known from the smoke of several campfires clearly visible to them. This trail is clearly the same that can be seen to this day just inside the Virginia line on Amostown Road near the juncture of Stokes and Rockingham Counties, North Carolina, and Henry County, Virginia, where it crosses the very aptly named Crooked Creek, so named by Colonel Byrd himself, from its snaking back and forth across the line of the survey.[38] The survey ended at a red oak tree just east of what is now a country road, Moir Rogers Road, between Stokes and Patrick Counties, on the east side of what is still called Peters Creek. The land is now beautiful farm land, with a population undreamed of there in the Colonel's day, unlike the brambles, cane, laurel, and rhododendron that the Colonel and company had to hack their way through. In his private journal, Colonel Byrd called this area at the end of his survey *the Latitude of the Fat Bear*,[39] due to their

[34] The North Fork Shenandoah is northwest, the South Fork is southeast. Swift Run Gap is just east of its south end.

[35] Kincaid, *Road*, pp. 34-35.

[36] Kincaid, *Road*, p. 36.

[37] It was from this book that the three former towns of Leaksville, Spray, and Draper got their new name when they merged.

[38] The state line crosses Crooked Creek some twenty times in its approximately ten mile length.

[39] Byrd, William, *Histories of the Dividing Line Betwixt Virginia and North Carolina*, New York, Dover, 1967, p. 281. The volume is called 'Histories' because it has both the official journal of the expedition, and the part of Colonel Byrd's "Secret Diary" dealing with it.

frequent consumption of bear meat during their survey, also lamenting the fact that there were no more bear to be eaten on their return journey.

The Penn-Calvert Controversy and North Carolina Settlements

The government and the "tomahawk surveys"

The real origin of the Great Wagon Road was in the politically significant city of Philadelphia, which was so even from its founding in 1682, and was begun before William Penn's death in 1718. It crossed the Schuylkill River by the Market Street Ferry--usually called *Middle Ferry*:[40]

> *So many emigrants entered the American colonies at this point that Market Street has been called "the most historic highway in America." From it, the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road eventually led southward into the American heartland. By the time of the Scotch-Irish emigration, Philadelphia had become a town of some 20,000 people, the largest in the American colonies.*[41]

The road then traveled west to the Susquehanna River at the present site of Columbia.[42] In the wake of William Penn's death, no land grants were made in Pennsylvania for 16 years--i. e., until 1734. This exacerbated the problems associated with the arrival of the greatest number of immigrants the colony had yet seen, in the 1720's. Also, the lack of a border agreement between the Penns of Pennsylvania, who were Quakers, and the Calverts of Maryland, who were Roman Catholic, and thereby introducing a religious element into the conflict, made this already bad situation a lot worse.[43] This lack of legal land grants west of the Susquehanna led to many squatters making many *tomahawk surveys* of that ungranted land--so called from a claimant taking a tomahawk to four likely trees as corners, and squatting on the land--land which, unfortunately, both colonies claimed, the Penns south almost to Frederick, the Calverts north to Harris' Ferry, now Harrisburg. This dispute almost flared, several times, into armed conflict:

> *The boundary dispute was essentially a struggle for control of a strip of territory extending from the New Castle circle westward beyond the Susquehanna. . .On August 17, 1733, the Pennsylvania House found itself "obliged at this time to represent to the governor the hardships which many of our peaceable inhabitants living near the borders of Maryland have suffered from that government." Two years later, the House advised the governor that success by Baltimore in his efforts to obtain the disputed territory "would be attended with consequences truly*

[40] Information obtained from the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, hereafter called 'HSP'.

[41] Rouse, *Road*, p. 33.

[42] Some researchers have said that the Road went to Marietta some five miles upstream, from which John Wright operated another ferry that went to Wrightsville, but that ferry was of a somewhat later date than the one from the future Columbia. Columbia and Wrightsville are directly between Lancaster and York, and Marietta is not.

[43] It seems very strange that such a situation could arise between Catholics and Quakers at that time, both of them persecuted minorities in England, and Quakers especially because of their explicit pacifism, but history has always had examples of seemingly incongruous elements within it.

unhappy. . .depriving many of us of our properties and destroying those religious and civil liberties which were one of the chief inducements to the first planting of this colony." The struggle reached its height in the summer of 1736. The Pennsylvania legislature recorded on September 8 that the sheriff of Baltimore County had invaded Lancaster County with two hundred men.

> *The Sheriff of Lancaster had got about a hundred and fifty people together at John Wright's, Junior, where they have continued since Sunday evening, that no hostilities had yet been committed . . . but that . . . the inhabitants tho' unprovided with arms and ammunition, yet endeavored to defend themselves and such of his majesties peaceable subjects as fled from their houses to them for refuge.*[44]

This antagonism between the two colonies continued intermittently, with claims and counter-claims that were finally settled only by the survey of Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon, 1765-68, a survey of significance far beyond settling this conflict between Pennsylvania and Maryland. The religious toleration drafted into both colonial charters also attracted people of many different religious persuasions from all over Europe to the two colonies, some of them having complementary beliefs with each other, and others antithetical ones. This religious "war" was one large reason for the exodus of thousands from New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland to Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia, beginning in the late 1720's and early '30's.[45]

Samuel Blunston, the Monocasy Trail, and the Shenandoah valley

The temporary settlement between Pennsylvania and Maryland--and the reopening of the Pennsylvania Land Office--in 1734 greatly eased the pent-up demand for legal settlement, and eliminated the tomahawk surveys, even though this was only a temporary, stopgap measure.[46] Samuel Blunston, the Indian trader of Wright's Ferry, now Wrightsville, on the Susquehanna opposite Columbia, was granted the right to issue a limited number of land licenses for land west of the river. John Wright's Ferry was established that year, and a road called the *Monocasy Trail*, following an ancient Indian path through the Monocasy Creek valley to the Potomac, was cut from Wrightsville in 1739 through the future York (founded in 1741), bound for Frederick, Maryland, which was founded the same year the road was cut, and to the future Harper's Ferry on the Potomac.[47] While the Blunston Licenses did open up legal settlement of the area (a fact that also greatly aids any modern historical researcher, in that he would now have something in writing to refer to), actually in many ways it was too late, for many people had already started deserting Pennsylvania, due of course to the very exorbitant price of land, itself due to British mercantile policy, which led to increased immigration and forced a great increase in taxes, many fleeing for the much cheaper land of the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia, and later to the Carolinas and Georgia:

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[44] Ramsey, Robert W., *Carolina Cradle: Settlement of the Northwest Carolina Frontier, 1747-1762*, Chapel Hill: UNC Press, 1964, pp. 15-16; hereafter called 'Ramsey, *Cradle*.'

[45] Ramsey, *Cradle*, pp. 10-27 passim.

[46] The survey of 1734, though, was very close to that of Mason and Dixon of 34 years later.

[47] HSP.

Before 1713, the price of land in Pennsylvania was £2 per hundred acres and 1s quit-rent. In 1713, the price was raised to £10 and in 1732 to £15. Also in 1732, the quit-rent was increased from 2s to 4s 2d sterling.

As may readily be seen from the accompanying list of taxables in Salsbury township, Lancaster County, for the year 1750, the average size of a farm there was approximately fifty acres. On the basis of the price established in 1732, such a farm would cost £7 10s. In the Granville district of North Carolina, land was selling in 1753 at the rate of 5s per hundred acres regardless of acreage.[48]

War, Lawsuits, and Settlement of the North Carolina Piedmont

Ross and Bryant, Jost Hite, and Lord Thomas Fairfax

Some rather notable people made the trip from Pennsylvania to the Valley. Among them were the Indian traders Alexander Ross and Morgan Bryant, Sr. (1671-1763), who were granted 100,000 acres in the northern part of the valley about five miles north of the Shawnee Springs, now Winchester, about 1735.[49] The Ross-Bryant Grant was the first Quaker settlement in the Shenandoah, and the Quaker settlers--including Ross; Bryant was Presbyterian--founded the Hopewell Friends Meeting House, the first Quaker church in the Shenandoah Valley.[50] About five miles south of Winchester, at the present town of Bartonsville, was the fieldstone home of Johann Jost Heydt--usually spelled Hite, 1685-1761--the patriarch of the Hite clan of the Winchester area,[51] who arrived there in 1732. Hite's purchase of 40,000 acres from the Van Meter brothers in August 1731,[52] and the granting of 100,000 more by the Virginia authorities the following October, made him and his family some of the wealthiest people in the Valley. Yet another important arrival in 1747[53] was arguably one of the most significant of any in the entire country: Lord Thomas Fairfax, proprietor of the Northern Neck of Virginia. For the purpose of surveying his land, Lord Fairfax employed the 16-year-old George Washington, intriguingly, the half brother of Lawrence Washington, the husband of Fairfax's cousin[54] (nepotism has of course been practiced among many people for millenia). Fairfax's claim of the right to levy a quitrent acceeded to by the colonial assembly of Virginia, on land already granted by those same Virginia authorities to others so enraged Jost Hite that he vowed never to pay a farthing of what

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[48] Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 18.

[49] Quarles, Garland R., *Some Old Homes in Frederick County, Virginia*, Winchester-Frederick County Historical Society, Winchester, 1990, pp. 223-224, etc., hereafter called 'Quarles, *Old Homes*'; Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 31. Bryant's house, in present Berkeley County, West Virginia, is now gone, but what was probably Ross's still stands in Frederick County, Virginia.

[50] Kincaid, *Road*, p. 39.

[51] Among the members of that family was Isaac Hite, who married James Madison's sister, and built the Belle Grove Plantation house, designed by Thomas Jefferson.

[52] Quarles, *Old Homes*, p. 131.

[53] Fairfax had actually first arrived in the Northern Neck of Virginia in 1735, left in 1737 to arrange for determination of what actually was his property, and returned with authorization for quitrents in 1747. However, the Jost Hite family had, by all accounts, arrived in the spring of 1732, preceding him by three years, providing legal grounds for the lawsuit.

[54] Whitney, David C., *George Washington*, World Book Ency., Vol. 19, Chicago, Field Enterprises, 1962, p. 74b.

he considered an unjustly-inspired tribute. To back up his vow he initiated the *Hite-Fairfax Lawsuit*, one of the celebrated cases of the late colonial period in Virginia, and arguably one of the first *property rights lawsuits* in American history:

> *In 1747 Fairfax moved into the Valley on a manor of 10,000 acres reserved for himself. He built a house and land office which he called Greenway Court,*[55] *eleven miles southeast of a new settlement beginning at Shawnee Springs which later developed into Winchester, Virginia. He found the Valley spotted with homesteads. Many families had moved in during his absence, boldly locating on his land in complete disregard of his rights. Chief of these settlers was the stolid old German, Joist Hite, who had come into the lower Shenandoah in 1732 from Pennsylvania. . Hite built a stone house for himself on the ancient war trail, where it crossed the creek*[56] *five and a half miles from the abandoned Indian town at Shawnee Springs, and announced that he had come to stay.*
>
> *The "Old Baron" had brought sixteen families with him, . . .Jacob Stover, a native of Switzerland, took up 10,000 acres on the south fork of the Shenandoah at a place called Massanutten,*[57] *the "Indian old fields," and brought in a number of German and Swiss families. Alexander Ross and Morgan Bryan, also from Pennsylvania, started a big development on the west side of the Opequon, . . . John Fishback, of Germanna, . . . located on a grant of 30,000 acres on the east side of the second fork of the Shenandoah.*
>
> *All these settlements were flourishing when Fairfax arrived. From Greenway Court, he sent out his agents and demanded quitrents. Most of the tenants complied with his demands, but some objected. Old Cap Baron stubbornly refused to pay a tribute which he regarded as unjust, and instituted a lawsuit which was in the courts until long after both litigants were dead. The quitrent, whether to Fairfax or to the Crown, was always paid reluctantly since it was regarded as a cloud on the title.*[58]

The quitrent was indeed a cloud on the title, even if it was not quite the complete denial of the right to private ownership, due to the nature of continually paying someone else for the 'privilege' of owning property, the overweening and hypocritical condescension of which has been an aggravation since time immemorial for the argument to abolish the property tax, among much else. The fact of the Jost Hite-Thomas Fairfax Lawsuit's property rights inspiration proves both its connection to the socio-political factors that led to the American Revolution some 28 years later, and its

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[55] Greenway Court was a large, story-and-a-half, thatch-roofed manor near the present town of White Post, Clarke County, Virginia. The original White Post itself, whose successor still stands in the crossroad in the center of the town, was erected by Fairfax at that crossroads to point the way to four destinations from there, one of which was Greenway Court, about a mile south of the post. The house burned to the ground in the 19th century.

[56] Opequon Creek, a tributary of the Shenandoah. The ruins of the house are just north of it.

[57] Massanutten Mountain began just west of Swift Run Gap, the gap from which Governor Spotswood's party first saw the Shenandoah Valley.

[58] Kincaid, *Road*, pp. 38-39.

ironic applicability to several similarly-inspired cases of the present day.[59] Another, and possibly *very* ironic, fact connected with this is that Morgan Bryant and his family sold their possessions and left the Shenandoah Valley, bound for the Yadkin River valley,[60] in the year after Fairfax arrived, the clear implication being that Fairfax's arrival at least partially inspired their departure, an implication noted many times before. A silent witness to the entire proceeding is George Washington's office, built for him in 1748, and still standing in downtown Winchester, the oldest surviving structure there.[61]

1743: The *Other* Moravian Journey

Jost Hite was mentioned in another important Diary of the day, that of Leonhard Schnell, a Moravian minister from Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, and his companion Robert Hussey, an English convert to the Moravian Church. Many people have heard of the later surveying journey of Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg in 1752-53, but few have heard of how the Bishop had probably heard of the area they would settle in some ten years beforehand.

Schnell and Hussey started on their journey from Bethlehem on 6 November 1743, and traveled through Philadelphia and Lancaster to York, which had just been founded two years before. Their journey of course took them to Frederick, Maryland, on the Monocasy Trail, the only road at the time running south to the Great Valley:

> *In upland Virginia, near the village of Winchester,[62] the two men came to the inn of Joist Hite, a pioneer Germanic settler who encouraged countless others to come south from Philadelphia into upper Virginia. "He was very courteous when he heard that I was a minister," Schnell wrote.*
>
> *I asked him for the way to Carolina. He told me of one, which runs for 150 miles through Irish settlements, the district being known as the Irish tract. [An area of the Valley of Virginia which later became Rockingham, Augusta, Rockbridge, and Botetourt counties.] I had no desire to take this way, and as no one could tell me the right way, I felt somewhat depressed. I asked the Lord to show me the right way, but slept little that night.*[63]

This journey is of significance to the later well-known one by Bishop Spangenberg, explaining many things that would remain unanswered about it and the settlers' journey in 1753. Indeed, much social commentary was made by and about the

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[59] Some of these cases are presented in Pombo, Richard and Farah, Joseph, *This Land Is Our Land, How To End The War On Private Property*, St. Martin's Press, New York, 1996. It is very intriguing, at least to me, that many of the things that led to the American Revolution have direct counterparts today.

[60] Quarles, *Old Homes*, p. 222.

[61] It is intriguing to me that George Washington subsequently fought for individual property rights during the Revolution, after having been engaged to survey for Fairfax then, the chief practitioner of the exactly opposite political philosophy in the Virginia colony.

[62] In 1743, Winchester was not yet anything other than a few scattered houses with a very rough path in their midst (the Great Warriors' Path, not yet known as the Great Wagon Road), and was still known as Shawnee Springs. It later became known as Frederickstown (the county seat of Frederick County), and only years later was it called Winchester, at least partially to distinguish it from Frederick, Maryland.

[63] Rouse, *Road*, p.38. The Irish Tract was the Beverley Manor (now virtually Augusta County) and the Borden's Tract (now mainly in Rockbridge County). Some few had moved as far south as present Botetourt County, just north of Roanoke, and hunters ranged even down into western North Carolina and Tennessee.

Moravians over the years, both favorably and otherwise, like Schnell's commentary about the Scots-Irish in this very passage. These and other claims concerning them will be explored fully, but intermittently, later in this and the next chapter.

1736-1774: Beverley, Borden, Washington, and the Jeffersons

The years 1736-1748 are very important in the history of the backcountry area that the Great Wagon Road was so much a part of. William Beverley was granted what was later called the Beverley Manor, a 118,491 acre tract in the Valley--now almost all of present Augusta County and some of Rockbridge--by Governor William Gooch in 1736.[64] The same year also saw the founding of the Indian trading post of Augusta, Georgia, the southern terminus of the Wagon Road.[65] 1739 brought two more important occurences to the backcountry: first, as noted, the Monocasy Trail was cut from Wright's Ferry to York, Hanover, Frederick, Harper's Ferry and Winchester, it being the first official road south from Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah; and two, Governor Gooch's granting of 500,000 acres to Benjamin Borden, Sr., on the headwaters of the Shenandoah and James Rivers, and now virtually Rockbridge County:

> *William Beverley, son of Robert Beverley, first historian of Virginia, and some associates were granted 118,491 acres by Governor Gooch. They comprised almost the entire present county of Augusta. John Lewis, native of Ireland, who fled to Virginia in 1729 after killing his landlord in a quarrel, brought with him three sons, Thomas, Andrew and William, and thirty tenant families. Stopping at Williamsburg, Lewis persuaded Governor Gooch to give him 100,000 acres in separate parcels in the new country. He located his home on a tract near the site of Staunton on the old Indian trail.*[66]
>
> *Lewis went back to Williamsburg a year later and met Benjamin Borden, Sr., lately of East Jersey, who for a time had been an agent for Fairfax. Borden was anxious to explore the western region on his own account. He returned with Lewis to the frontier. While hunting and prospecting for several months in the upper Valley, he captured a buffalo calf which he took to Williamsburg as a present for Governor Gooch. Delighted with the gift and always accommodating to his favorites, the governor entered an order on his official book authorizing Borden to locate 500,000 acres on the upper Shenandoah and James Rivers, on the condition that he should settle there a hundred families within ten years.*[67]

A notable natural feature of the Borden Tract is the Natural Bridge over Cedar Creek, on which the Great Valley Road runs. This natural wonder, carved by an underground creek over thousands of years, at one time honored by the neighboring

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[64] Kincaid, *Road*, pp. 40; Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 143.

[65] Saye, Albert B., *Augusta, Georgia*, World Book, Vol. I, Field, 1962, p. 744. James Oglethorpe actually arrived at the site in 1735, and the town was laid off in 1736.

[66] The supposed house of John Lewis, part log, part fieldstone, still stands east of Staunton: information obtained from Sheila Church of Mooresville, N. C., a descendant of John Lewis. The author has yet to see the house (as of May 1999).

[67] Kincaid, *Road*, p.40.

Monacan Indians as the *Bridge of God*,[68] and discovered by John Peter Salling in 1739, is 50 feet thick and spans a gap of 90 feet over Cedar Creek in southern Rockbridge County,[69] the top being 215 feet high. It was first surveyed in 1749 by Peter Jefferson and his assistant, 17-year-old George Washington (during Joshua Fry's and Peter Jefferson's surveys of Maryland and Virginia for their 1751 map[70]) who left his initials carved in the southern rock wall some 23 feet up.[71] Thomas Jefferson, Peter's son, wrote in *Notes on the State of Virginia*, his only published book, of it being *the most sublime of Nature's works*. He also wrote of being so afraid of looking from the 215-foot-height of that bridge down into the Cedar Creek Gorge that it gave him *a violent head ach* (sic). But Thomas Jefferson was also extremely impressed with the wild beauty of the place, referring to it in his book as *so elevated, so light, and springing, as it were, up to heaven.* He subsequently purchased it from colonial authorities on 5 July 1774, and over the years took many people there to share in its wonder.[72]

The "War of Jenkin's Ear", Pennsylvania, and Wachovia

The other noteworthy occurrence of 1739 was the outbreak of war, between the English colony of Georgia and Spanish Florida, which embodied several unforeseen consequences, of especially great historical significance to the settlement of present Forsyth County. This war was the North American equivalent of the Anglo-Spanish *War of Jenkin's Ear* (1739-44), one of the several mercantilistic wars of the English in the 17th and 18th centuries.[73] The Moravian Church, resident in Georgia 1735-40, was officially pacifist, and their pacifism did not sit well with either the authorities or the people in Georgia:

> *In 1737 a messenger came from Georgia, bringing distressing news to Mr. Spangenberg and begging for help. The Moravians were having trouble on account of the war which had broken out between England and Spain, and which threatened to involve English Georgia and Spanish Florida. Men were insisting that the Brethren take up arms, saying in effect, "You must fight, go to jail, or get out," while the Moravians were determined to retain the immunity from personal military service which had been promised to them by the Trustees.*[74]

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[68] The Monacan Indians had a legend that stated they were running away from enemies when confronted by the Cedar Creek gorge, and praying, found that their God had put this Natural Bridge there so they could escape. Perhaps they had arrived in the fog next to the gorge, and became aware of the bridge as the fog cleared: still an act of God.

[69] The county was of course named for the bridge.

[70] The Fry-Jefferson map of 1751 is one of the most significant of the colonial period; its update of 1755 is one of the sources for this volume.

[71] *Welcome to Natural Bridge*, tourist pamphlet, Natural Bridge, n.d. Note: there are today very few secure handholds on that cliff, due of course to erosion over the years; it would be extremely difficult today to climb to the spot of the carving, not to mention chiselling it at the same time.

[72] Brodie, Fawn M., *Thomas Jefferson, An Intimate History*, New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974, p. 115. Natural Bridge also sells a copy of the grant from Lord Dunmore (last royal governor of Virginia) to Thomas Jefferson in its gift shop.

[73] Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 16.

[74] Fries, Adelaide L., *The Road to Salem*, Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, Publisher, 1993, p. 15; hereafter called 'Fries, *Salem*.'

The subsequent breakup of their settlement there led to the founding of Bethlehem and Nazareth, Pennsylvania in 1741, due of course to the official religious toleration in the latter colony's charter. It is of significance to this study due to the fact that it was from Bethlehem and Nazareth that the Wachovia Tract of present Forsyth County was settled twelve years later.[75]

"King George's War" and the Treaty of Lancaster

The North American part of this war ended with the Battle of Bloody Marsh on St. Simons Island in 1742, James Oglethorpe defeating the Spanish decisively,[76] but 1744 brought yet another mercantilistic war to North America. *King George's War*, the American equivalent of the *War of Austrian Succession*, was between England and France, breaking out in Virginia and all English colonies to its north, France entering the war in support of the Spanish. Among its combatants in North America were the Iroquois, who were more or less split between the English and the French. Various atrocities were committed by both the Iroquois and the English settlers--a particularly vicious one in the Borden's Settlement of present Rockbridge County, Virginia in 1742:

> *The skirmish involved 33 Iroquois Indians and 34 white settlers led by Captain James McDowell. The Indians were passing through the valley along their traditional route. The cause of the fight is unclear, but it resulted in the deaths of 8 settlers (including McDowell) and 17 Indians. (The white casualties of this encounter were buried in the McDowell family cemetery north of Lexington. . .)*
>
> *In 1742, various factions claimed jurisdiction in the Valley of Virginia. Although the British Crown was granting settlement rights, the Iroquois Indians claimed certain rights by virtue of treaty. The governor of Pennsylvania mediated the dispute and ruled that the whites were the aggressors. Virginia's Governor Gooch paid the Iroquois £100 in retribution. The Iroquois gave up their rights to the valley when they signed the Treaty of Lancaster (Pennsylvania) two years later.*[77]

In this important treaty, the Iroquois ceded all claim of ownership of the Cumberland and Shenandoah valleys, but retained the right to use the road running through them. This treaty sealed the friendship of the Iroquois with the British authorities all the way through the American Revolution, but turned to their great disadvantage when the colonists gained the upper hand at the Battles of Freeman's Farm and Bemis Heights, or Saratoga, in 1777.[78]

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[75] Fries, Adelaide L., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, Vol. I, North Carolina Department of Archives and History, Raleigh, 1922, pp. 13-14; Vol. I hereafter called 'Fries, *Records*'; subsequent volumes by numeral.

[76] Saye, Albert B., *Georgia*, World Book Encyclopedia, Vol. 7, Chicago, Field Enterprises, 1962, p.132.

[77] Tennery, Katherine, and Shirley Scott, *Country Roads, Rockbridge County, Virginia*, Rockbridge Publishing, Natural Bridge Station, pp. 11-12, 62; hereafter called 'Tennery, *Rockbridge*'. The battle occurred on Hwy. 501 where it crosses Battle Run, north of Glasgow, Rockbridge Co., Va. 501 more or less follows the Great Warriors' Path in that area. One of the whites killed, James McDowell, was surveyor of the Borden Tract and patriarch of the Mc Dowell's of both Rockbridge Co., Va., and Burke Co., N. C., including grandsons Dr. Ephraim McDowell and brothers Charles and Joseph McDowell of Quaker Meadows (Morganton, N. C.), the latter at the Battle of King's Mountain, 7 October 1780.

[78] Another nail in the Iroquois' coffin was the British-inspired " Massacre of Wyoming Valley, Pa.", 3-4 July 1778; see Boatner, Mark Mayo III, *Encyclopedia of the American Revolution*, Stackpole Books, Mechanicsburg, Pa., 1994, pp. 1221-28.

1746 and the settlement of the North Carolina backcountry

King George's War and "Bonnie Prince Charlie"

1746, however, can arguably be called the most important year in settling the North Carolina backcountry, many consequential events taking place not only in North Carolina, but in all of British North America, also, and even in other countries. King George's War was still raging in Virginia and colonies to its north, and a militia muster was issued for all of them, but not for the Carolinas and Georgia, the last having fought a war--the War of Jenkin's Ear, against the Spanish--not long before:

> *There can be little doubt that the prospect of war with France in Canada and the Ohio Valley caused many people to leave New Jersey and Pennsylvania . . . In December, 1745, Governor [George] Thomas [of Pennsylvania] notified the "back inhabitants" of Lancaster County that "the French and Indians were preparing. . . to march in the winter time to the frontiers of Pennsylvania." . . .In June, 1746, Governor Thomas issued a proclamation to the effect that. . .*
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> *. . .His Majesty has been pleased to order a considerable body of his troops from England under the command of Lt. Gen. St. Clair . . . for the immediate reduction of Canada, and that I should forthwith make the necessary dispositions for raising as many men as the shortness of the time will permit within my government. . . . the troops to be raised to consist of companies of one hundred men each; and that those that shall be raised in the several provinces of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia . . . should rendezvous at Albany . . . in order to proceed . . . into the southern parts of Canada; whilst those to be raised in the provinces of Massachusetts Bay, New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut are to rendezvous at Louisburg, and to proceed with the forces sent from England . . . to Quebec.*[79]

As has been said before, and is immediately noticeable, the Carolinas and Georgia were exempt from this militia muster, a fact that, when recalling that beginning in the following year thousands of settlers started pouring into the Carolina and Georgia backcountry, lends to that "great migration" an aspect of, almost, inevitability.

Also in 1746, Prince Charles Edward Stuart, the pretender to the English throne and the heir of the former royal House of Stuart, gathered an army of Highland Scotsmen under the command of the strategist Lord George Murray and attempted to wrest the English throne from the House of Hanover, using this war (with England's need for troops elsewhere) to his advantage. His defeat at the hands of the Duke of Cumberland (the future King George the Third's younger brother) in the *Battle of Culloden Moor*, an action highlighting both his incredible impatience and his military ineptitude, dashed his hopes, and he fled for his life to France, as his grandfather James the Second had some 58 years previously.[80] His Highlanders were offered a pardon for swearing allegiance to the House of Hanover and sailing for America, which a great many of them did. A not inconsiderable number of them subsequently came to North Carolina to escape King George's War, which would not end until two

[79] Ramsey, *Cradle*, pp. 16-17.

[80] Olmert, Michael, *Official Guide to Colonial Williamsburg*, The Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, Williamsburg, 1985, p. 21; Eden, Major Steven, U. S. Army, *Military Blunders*, MetroBooks, 1995, pp. 44-46.

years later. Most of these erstwhile rebels, intriguingly, became Loyalists during the Revolution: an ironic point, to say the least.[81]

The Granville District, Edward Moseley, and related history

1746 was also a consequential year on a more local note. Edward Moseley, at sundry times Surveyor General of North Carolina--one of the North Carolina surveyors of the North Carolina-Virginia line with Colonel William Byrd in 1728, and the producer of the first major map of North Carolina in 1733[82]--was sent by his employer Lord John Carteret, Earl of Granville, proprietor of the northern half of North Carolina, to various colonies to the north, attempting to induce some residents to come south to the relatively cheap land in the Granville District of North Carolina, the southern line of which had just been surveyed to Coldwater Creek on the present Rowan-Cabarrus county line near the present Kannapolis.[83] Part of the Granville Line is still preserved as the boundary dividing Chatham, Randolph, Davidson, Rowan, and Iredell counties on the north from Moore, Montgomery, Stanly, Cabarrus, and Mecklenburg on the south. This inducement can arguably be called the beginning of the Great Migration, which lasted from that time until the late 19th century in the western United States, and in just the days before the Revolution probably encompassed at least 250,000 people. At the time of the survey there were approximately 300 fighting men in all of the Yadkin and Catawba valleys, which probably meant about 1000 people, but naturally including none of the Catawba and Cherokee, both of which tribes still hunted over that area, and it had to be halted at Coldwater Creek because of the lack of settlement to support the surveyors or their horses.[84] By June 1753, Council President and acting governor Matthew Rowan, in his tour of the backcountry, duly informed both the N. C. Colonial Assembly and the British Board of Trade that the militia had increased to about 3000 and already that year over 1000 wagons had crossed the Trading Ford and were *dayley increasing*.[85]

Other historical connections

From all colonies to the north of Virginia the Wagon Road was for many years the only road to the backcountry of North and South Carolina. As previously stated, the Monocasy Trail of 1739 was the first road through the backcountry from Pennsylvania to the Shenandoah Valley, ending in Winchester. Schnell and Hussey, as noted before, traveled that route in 1743:

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[81] One of these, for instance, was Flora MacDonald, who had helped Prince Charles Stuart escape from Scotland to France, and was the wife of Allen MacDonald, cousin of Donald McDonald, the head of the Highland Loyalist forces before the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, 27 February 1776, and himself a participant in that battle. The elderly Donald McDonald fell ill just before the battle and did not participate, and was subsequently captured, as was his cousin Allen.

[82] Cumming, William, *North Carolina in Maps*, Raleigh, Division of Archives and History, 1966, pp. 16-17, and Plate VI; hereafter called 'Cumming, *Maps* '. It is very intriguing that Moseley omitted much knowledge on his map of which he was personally cognizent, having helped survey the entire Virginia - North Carolina line, including the North Carolina grant to Colonel Byrd in the area of the present Eden.

[83] Ramsey, *Cradle*, pp. 6, 23.

[84] Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 6.

[85] Cashion, Jerry C. and Stephen E. Massengill, *Fort Dobbs*, N. C. Division of Archives and History, for the Iredell County Bicentennial Commission, 1976, p. 4, hereafter called 'Cashion, *Dobbs*.'

Leaving York, the two pilgrims crossed the Conewago River in Adams County, Pennsylvania, and then descended into Maryland and forded in succession three shallow rivers. In the vicinity of Frederick, Maryland, they found many Lutherans and Reformed members, who insisted on a sermon. "I felt very happy among them," Schnell wrote. "They are very plain people."

Between Frederick and the Potomac River, the travelers encountered only two houses. . .After crossing the river near the later Harper's Ferry, Schnell and Hussey spent the night in an English tavern, where the local people complained about their minister. "On account of his disorderly life, he had no influence among the people," Schnell reported.[86]

A second route was cut from just west of York through the future site of Gettysburg to Hagerstown and the Watkins Ferry on the Potomac, now Williamsport, Maryland, and through Martinsburg, West Virginia to Winchester in 1746:[87]

The growing emigration south from Philadelphia gave colonists an increasing awareness of the trail through the Appalachians. The Virginia Assembly in 1744 ordered a ferry kept on the Potomac, where the road had crossed by a shallow ford from Maryland into Virginia. . .Watkins' Ferry made the Potomac crossing safer and faster. Soon the growing movement southward justified a larger boat, which could transport wagons as well as horses and cattle. Ferryman Evan Watkins was kept busy from dawn to dusk poling his boat back and forth across the river. . .Watkins and his wife Mary had settled by the Potomac about 1741. The river landing was known as Maidstone in honor of an English town familiar to Lord Fairfax, who owned the area. . .Eventually the site became Williamsport, Maryland.[88]

Because it was cut in the great year of war and migration, this route has generally been called the Great Wagon Road, a custom that will also be followed here.

The route of the road followed what can only be called a Who's Who and What's What of late colonial and early United States historical figures and sites. Its sixty-mile section from Philadelphia to Lancaster was the first Macadamized highway in the United States, using the gravel emulsion system of Scotsman John McAdam in 1792.[89] Another group of historical structures was a great chain of forts, built for the defense of the Great Valley and the rest of the Virginia frontier during the French and Indian War, all near the Wagon Road or its offshoot later called the *Wilderness Road*, from present Roanoke to the Cumberland Gap and Kentucky:

Many settlers fled south to the supposed safety of North Carolina, whose western flank was protected by the friendly Cherokees. Describing "the wretched and unhappy situation" of the western frontier in a letter to the Governor of Virginia in

[86] Rouse, *Road*, p. 38.

[87] HSP.

[88] Rouse, *Road*, p.69. Evan Watkins was a Virginian: Williamsport is on the opposite bank from his ferry landing.

[89] *Pennsylvania's Route 30*, Colonial Homes, August 1992, p. 26.

1756, George Washington wrote that the Appalachian frontiersmen were "in a general motion towards the southern colonies" and that Virginia's westernmost counties of Frederick, Hampshire, and Augusta would soon be empty. Previous defense steps were "evidently insufficient for the security and safety of the Country," and the young colonel recommended "a vigorous and offensive war" to "remove the cause" of the trouble.[90]

In the Valley of Virginia, settlers built community blockhouses and forts and fled to them on word that the Indians were coming. Such was Fort Harrison, erected about 1749 in Rockingham County, near the present Dayton. The stone house was built with an underground passage that led to a spring by the nearby Cook's Creek. During this period, several villages of Germanic settlers grew in the lower Valley of Virginia as farmers left their lands and sought safety. From this era of Indian raids date the villages of Stephensburg, Woodstock, Strasburg, and Staunton.[91]

The French and Indian War (1754-63) was one of the defining periods of the settlement of the backcountry. The massacres perpetrated during it were merciless affairs, by both Indians and whites. Some particular ones illustrate vividly one claim concerning the Great Wagon Road, a claim to be discussed in full in the next chapter.

Among the forts previously mentioned were *Fort Edwards*, which still stands near Romney, Hampshire County, West Virginia, on what was then known as *Braddock's Road*, a northern offshoot of the Wagon Road running from Winchester to Fort Duquesne, a French fort at the site of present Pittsburg, Pennsylvania; *Fort Loudoun* in Winchester, Virginia, Colonel George Washington's and General Edward Braddock's home base (before Braddock's defeat and death near Pittsburg), where today only a well is left of it; *Fort Fauquier*, named for Virginia Governor Francis Fauquier, near Looney's Ferry, now about a mile south of Buchanan on the James River;[92] *Fort Vause*, sometimes called *Fort Vaux*, originally in present Montgomery County,[93] and soon to be rebuilt in Explore Park near Roanoke; *Fort Blackwater*, sometimes called *Terry's Fort*, after the man that built it, on the Blackwater River southwest of Rocky Mount, Franklin

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[90] Hampshire County is now in West Virginia. It is strange so many colonies north of North Carolina reported settlers fleeing south, with North Carolina reporting many fleeing north, like Daniel Boone, resident in Winchester during the War, and a wagoneer in General Edward Braddock's army. Others in that army included Captain Charles Lee, Major Thomas Gage, Lieutenant Horatio Gates, and Boone's fellow wagoneers John Finley and Daniel Morgan.

[91] Rouse, *Road*, p. 87. Fort Harrison still stands just on the northern edge of Dayton. Stephensburg in Frederick County is now called Stephens City. Woodstock began as Muellerstock, after Jacob Mueller its founder. The Narrow Passage, a favorite Indian ambush site, was two and a half miles south. The Inn at Narrow Passage of c. 1740-50 still stands between Narrow Passage Creek and the North Fork of the Shenandoah on U. S. Hwy. 11.

Also, the Moravian Diaries (Fries, *Diary*, p.337) confirms that they traveled near here, having stopped at Thomas Harrison's plantation (brother of Daniel Harrison, owner of the Fort), and now the city of Harrisonburg.

[92] Virginia State Historical Marker, U. S. Highway 11, south of Buchanan.

[93] Hildebrand, J. R., *Historical Map of Montgomery County*, Roanoke, The Roanoke Historical Society, 1970. There were actually two forts at one time or another, within about a mile of each other at the present Shawsville, Montgomery County. One of the French and Indian War's more well-known massacres was at Fort Vause. Colonel George Washington once escaped an ambush on his way there: Hildebrand, J. R., *An Historical Map of Roanoke County, Virginia*, Roanoke, The Roanoke Historical Society, 1968.

County;[94] *Forts Trial and Mayo* in present Henry County;[95] *Dunkard's Fort*, in what became known as the Dunkard's Bottom of the New River valley, in present Pulaski County, Virginia, the site now drowned by Claytor Lake;[96] and *Fort Chiswell* in present Wythe County, near the village of the same name, the site of which is now buried by about 40 feet of dirt at the intersection of Interstates 77 and 81. The man in overall charge of many of these forts was Colonel George Washington. The Big Salt Lick of the Staunton River, where the Wagon Road crossed before going through the Staunton Gap of the Blue Ridge, is now Roanoke, Virginia.[97] It also passed through the Maggotty Creek Gap, now Boone's Mill, traveling almost due south to North Carolina. On its way it passed John Hickey's Store and Ordinary, one of the earliest backcountry supply stores, founded c. 1749-50 on the Smith River near Martinsville.[98] The road cut to the area from Petersburg, at the head of the Great Trading Path and head of navigation on the James River, and now more or less Virginia Highways 57 and 40, and U. S. Highway 460, became known as Hickey's Road from his frequent use of it. Colonel George Washington even frequented it during his tours of Forts Blackwater, Trial, and Mayo, the frontier defense forts of the present Henry-Franklin area. For many years it was the closest store to many places in both Virginia and North Carolina, becoming one of the largest commercial establishments of the backcountry in the two colonies:

> *Dec. 24th [1753]. After morning prayers Hermanus set out, with two horses, for the home of Mr. Hikki, some 60 miles away, to procure several bushels of salt.*[99]
>
> *Dec. 30. . .In the evening Br. Hermanus returned from Virginia, bringing three bushels of salt which he had bought on Smith River.*[100]
>
> *Feb. 14 [1754]. A young man arrived from Smith's River, sixty miles from here, bringing Br. Kalberlahn a letter from his mother, who is very ill and asks for help.*[101]
>
> *April 2. Two men came from Smith's River for medicine for their sick mother, and stayed over night, as they also were not well.*[102]

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[94] Virginia State Historical Marker, U. S. Highway 220, south of Rocky Mount.

[95] Fort Trial is also commemorated on an Historical Marker on U. S. 220.

[96] Morgan, Clarita, and Mathews, Lloyd, *Settlement Map of Pulaski County*, New River Historical Society and Pulaski County Bicentennial Commission, 1976.

[97] Roanoke Civic Center now stands on the site; information obtained at the Circle in the Square, downtown Roanoke.

[98] Wahl, Carol Baker, *Hickey's Road a landmark in early Henry County history*, Martinsville Bulletin, August 10, 1997, p. 5-C, hereafter called 'Wahl, *Hickey*.' Wahl is a descendant of John Hickey. According to Wahl, the earliest historical reference to the Hickey Store in present Henry County is this passage in the Moravian Diaries, but the settlement it was in dates to c. 1747-48; Dr. Francis Amos of Rocky Mount, Va., from whom much of the information in this paragraph is derived, dated the Hickey Store to 1742. The Moravians made frequent mention of the Hickey Store or the area in the early days of the Wachovia Tract.

[99] Fries, *Records*, pp. 85-86.

[100] Fries, *Records*, p. 86.

[101] Fries, *Records*, p. 95.

[102] Fries, *Records*, p. 99.

The Dan River Basin: the Dan River and Town Fork settlements

In North Carolina, the road first encountered the *Dan River Settlement*, now eastern Stokes and western Rockingham Counties, and was centered on the present Madison, near the junction of the Mayo and Dan rivers in present Rockingham County. The most well-known resident of the Dan River Settlement in the late 1740's and up to c. 1750--when he moved to the Mulberry Fields of the Yadkin, now called North Wilkesboro--was Captain Christopher Gist (1706-1759), a friend of George Washington and the first surveyor of the Ohio River valley, 1751-54.[103] The Gist family, including militia captain Nathaniel Gist--who was probably Christopher's brother, though both Christopher's son and Nathaniel's son were also named Nathaniel--continued to be associated with the Dan River Settlement for several years. The *Town Fork Settlement*, now the area around the towns of Walnut Cove and Germanton in southeastern Stokes and north central Forsyth counties, was a few miles further down the road, a famous resident having been Captain Anthony Hampton of Hampton's Rangers, a militia company renowned in the French and Indian War, its most famous member having been Daniel Boone.[104]

In yet another aside for those who may possibly be interested in things such as this, a rather unflattering portrait of Hampton's Rangers is presented in the Moravian Diaries:

> *On the morning of Oct. 30 [1754] Col. Schmidt rode through our yard, and without permission held Muster in our meadow, for his five companies. We had planted the meadow with grass seed in the spring, but it was so badly trampled that it will have to be re-sowed as soon as we can get more seed from Pennsylvania. Capt. [Nathaniel] Guest was very considerate, he stopped and spoke to us only in passing, for fear others would follow him in, and gave orders to his companyto stay out of our yard, but nearly all the rest rode right through. The noise and shooting frightened our horses badly, and the four new horses broke away into the woods. Two of them we found on the third day thereafter, but the other two were brought to us on Nov. 7th by hunters who had seen our advertisement. We had to pay them for their trouble though we had already lost much time in seeking the horses. In general the people behaved better than is usual on such occasions, though this does not apply to Capt. Hampy [i.e., Hampton, RKS] and his men. During dinner they passed through and we asked that the beating of the drums cease because it frightened our horses and made them tear around the wagons, etc. They not only refused our request, but began shooting in addition. Capt. Hampy did not know the road through our farm, and when we offered to show it to him replied that he would ride where he pleased and make a way through our fences. After the Muster the men were so full of whiskey that they fought each other until they were covered with*

[103] *Christopher Gist*, World Book, Vol. 7, Field, 1962, p. 186. Christopher Gist accompanied George Washington on his notification to the French at Fort Duquesne, now Pittsburg, that they were encroaching on English territory.
[104] Rights, Douglas L., *The American Indian in North Carolina*, John F. Blair, Winston-Salem, 1957, p. 167.

blood. However, through all the tumult, we safely continued our work. We hope the soldiers will hereafter find another place for Muster, and not use our land. However, this time there was this much benefit,--the neighboring people have found out that we have all sorts of things to sell, that we know exactly what we have, and that we will sell only for immediate payment.[105]

Such things as this happened to the Moravians for many years, especially in the years leading up to and through the Revolution, forming a very melancholy, trenchant, and undeserved backdrop to their history. As in this instance, the Moravians usually took it with good cheer, with very few exceptions; several examples of these will be examined further in this book.

Wachovia, the Yadkin River valley, and the Bryant's Settlement

Some five miles further the road came to--after 1753--the *Wachovia Tract*, the 98,985 acre tract granted to the Moravian Church by Lord Granville, one of the largest such tracts he granted.[106] Much more shall be given later on both the Town Fork Settlement and the Wachovia Tract, being virtually required for complete understanding of the Wagon Road in this area. The farm in the previous passage was at Bethabara, the original town of Wachovia:

Jan. 25 [1753]. The eleventh is the entire district of Carguels Creek, and is richest in water of any place I have seen, and well fitted for cattle raising. Why should we not call it Wachau, and so renew that name?[107]

At a lovefeast that evening he told us that our tract of land had definitely received the name WACHAU; . . .[108]

This name is also presented on the 1755 version of the Fry-Jefferson map as "Wachaw."[109] Some ten miles west of the border of Wachovia was the *Shallow Ford* of the Yadkin River, one of the four major fords of the upper Yadkin--the *Etkin Ford* at the present Elkin, *White's* or the *White Rock Ford* at Rockford, and the *Catawba* or *Trading Ford* near Salisbury being the others--and the beginning of *Sherrill's Path*, by both local and Sherrill family tradition, the second earliest documented road of the northern Piedmont--the Trading Path or Occaneechi Trail of course being the first--and probably cut in 1747:[110]

This Boulder commemorates the crossing of the Catawba River by Adam Sherrill

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[105] Fries, *Records*, p. 110. The area around Bethabara was used as a muster ground from time to time until after the Revolution. The disturbances, fortunately, declined almost precipitately, due to the Moravians' vigilance.

[106] Fries, *Records*, pp. 15-passim.

[107] Fries, *Records*, p. 62. Carguels Creek is now called Muddy Creek.

[108] Fries, *Records*, p. 107.

[109] Sometimes it seems that many people of English extraction are unable or unwilling to learn to properly pronounce foreign words, as in this case, German. This is probably an oversimplification, though.

[110] Keever, Homer M., *Iredell, Piedmont County*, Brady Printing, for Iredell County Bicentennial Comm., 1988, p. 167.

the pioneer with his eight sons and others in 1747 at the ford which bears his name.[111]

The Shallow Ford was the ford in the heart of the *Bryant's Settlement*--now encompassing the areas around Advance, Clemmons, Farmington, Huntsville, Lewisville, and Mocksville, in other words, western Forsyth, eastern Yadkin, and most of Davie counties--founded by both the family and business associates of Morgan Bryant, Sr. According to two local traditions, either six or seven familes--or fourteen if you count all of the Bryant children--first came to the area in 1747 or '48, those of Morgan Bryant, on South Deep Creek five miles from the Shallow Ford; Edward Hughes, on the Forsyth side of the Shallow Ford; George Forbush, grandson-in-law of Morgan Bryant, and related to the Forbis family of Guilford County, including Captain Arthur Forbis, chief of Guilford County militia, killed at the Battle of Guilford Court House in 1781; Abraham Cresson, a miller, who was a Regulator during the War of the Regulation, 1766-71, and a Whig in the American Revolution;[112] Isaac Ferree, a tavern keeper and ferry operator; and Roger Turner, Sr., patriarch of a Tory family of the Revolution;[113] and Samuel Davis (or Davies), the militia captain of the area, 1748-52. One piece of documentation concerning this settlement is a land grant to Samuel Davis, whose grant in present Forsyth County just north of the Shallow Ford is dated 20 September 1748. This 579 acre tract was registered in *Bladen County*, Anson County not being formed until September 29,[114] making it the oldest grant of any in present Forsyth County.[115] The namesake of this settlement was the same Morgan Bryant that started the Ross-Bryant Settlement of the northern Shenandoah, who accepted Lord Granville's offer of cheap land and status as an official land speculator, a profession also practiced by his entire family. Several other families came to the area within two years, including those of Robert Elrod, John Douthit, and Christopher Elrod, by local and family tradition the earliest settler families of present Clemmons; William Linville, husband of Eleanor Bryant, Morgan's daughter, another early settler of the Clemmons area, killed along with his son John by the Cherokee in Linville Gorge, 1766, and buried by Daniel Boone;[116] and probably the most well-known of all, Squire (1696-1765) and Sarah Morgan Boone (1700-1777)[117] and their eleven children, including their fifth: Daniel Boone (1734-1820). The daughter of Morgan Bryant's oldest son Joseph was Rebecca Bryant, who married Daniel in 1756:

[111] The monument referred to here stands in the town of Sherrill's Ford in southeastern Catawba County, some ten miles west of Mooresville, Iredell County, and was placed there by Adam Sherrill's descendants in 1924. The original Adam Sherrill log house, which stood nearby, was destroyed by fire c. 1950: latter information obtained from Bart Conchin, descendant of Governor John Sevier of Tennessee and his second wife Catherine Sherrill.

[112] Abraham Cresson's land was the probable site of the local Whig muster ground during the Revolution; part of his land was later purchased from his estate by Charles Hunt, who founded the town of Huntsville on it in 1792.

[113] One of Edward Turner Jr's. slaves, Ball Turner, was killed in the Battle of Shallow Ford, 14 October 1780; Turner Creek, the first creek south of Huntsville, is named for the Turner family.

[114] Ramsey, *Cradle*, pp. 23-24.

[115] This tract was sold to Edward Hughes in 1752. Hughes came to own the entire access to the Shallow Ford on the present Forsyth County side. The author has not been able to locate any grant in the present Forsyth County of an earlier date, but that of course does not mean that there is none.

[116] Linville family tradition states that William Linville woke with a start that morning, from a dream where the four-man party was killed, and within minutes they were attacked by the Cherokee, and three indeed were killed, the fourth badly wounded but managing to escape.

[117] Taken from their tombstones in Joppa Graveyard, Mocksville, N. C.

It was at one of these Boone-Bryan weddings of 1753, Daniel and Rebecca Boone told their children, that they first took notice of each other. Daniel hunted frequently with the three oldest sons of Joseph and Aylee Bryan, Rebecca's parents. . .As one who excelled in the rough male sports characterizing these occasions, Boone would have been hard to miss by young Rebecca, born in western Virginia on January 9, 1739. . .She appears in folktales as "a buxom daughter," and her nephew Daniel Boone Bryan called her "a rather over common sized woman." Bryan recalled her "very mild and pleasant speech and kind behavior," and one of her granddaughters remembered that she was "one of the neatest and best of house keepers, proverbial for the tidiness and Quaker-like simplicity and propriety of all her domestic arrangements.". .Boone first began to court his future bride in the summer of 1756, the year following his return from the war in Pennsylvania. . .Justice Squire Boone officiated at the marriage of Daniel Boone and Rebecca Bryan on August 14, 1756. The groom was twenty-one, the bride seventeen. . .

For Rebecca Bryan Boone there was no honeymoon. She immediately became mistress of a household that included the two young sons of Daniel's brother Israel, who had died two months earlier. . .Sometime after his death, his two daughters also expired from the disease. The boys, Jesse and Jonathan, however, continued to live with Rebecca and Daniel in North Carolina until the family left for Kentucky in 1773.[118]

Sherrill's Path, the Fourth Creek and Sherrill's settlements, and points south

Sherrill's Path, now believed by many, including myself, to be the Wagon Road in Yadkin, Davie, Iredell, and Catawba counties, probably went through County Line, a Davie County community near the Davie-Iredell line, to Chipley's Ford on the South Yadkin, and thence to Fort Dobbs, established in 1756 in the *Fourth Creek Settlement*, first settled in 1747-48, the remains of which still exist:

They . . . found it to be a good and Substantial Building of the Dimentions following (that is to say) The Oblong Square fifty three feet by forty, the opposite Angles Twenty four feet and Twenty-two, In height Twenty four and a half feet as by the plan annexed Appears, the Thickness of the Walls which are made of Oak Logs regularly Diminished from sixteen Inches to Six, it contains three floors and there may be discharged from each floor at one and the same time about one hundred Musketts the same is beautifully scituated in the fork of Fourth Creek a Branch of the Yadkin River.[119]

The fort was four miles north of the present Statesville, founded in 1789 as the county seat of Iredell County. Between Fort Dobbs and Statesville it passed through the farm of a William Watt, which was located where N. C. Highway 115 crosses I-40 now, on the north edge of Statesville. Watt's land grant, which mentions Sherrill's Path

[118] Faragher, John Mack, *Daniel Boone, The Life and Legend of an American Pioneer*, New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1992, pp. 43-47 passim.

[119] Report of Richard Caswell and Francis Brown, taken from Cashion, *Dobbs*, p. 8

by that name, was dated February 1750, a date preceded in the western piedmont generally only by land grants along the section of the Trading Path some 20 or 30 miles east of there, as well as some few of the Bryant's Settlement; indeed, some of the land grants to the Sherrills themselves date from that same year.[120] Sherrill's Path actually crossed one branch of the Trading Path on the west side of Statesville, only a few miles south of Watt's farm. From Statesville it went almost due south to Sherrill's Ford on the Catawba, one of the eight major fords of that river--Greenlee's and Quaker Meadows (or McDowell's Ford[121]), about two miles apart at Morganton, Lovelady (on the highway between Morganton and Lenoir), Island (a short distance upstream from I-40), Sherrill's, Beatty's (about four miles north of Cowan's Ford Dam of Lake Norman), Cowan's (just downstream from the dam), and Tuckasegee to the west of Charlotte--all eight of which were noteworthy during settlement of the area or during the American Revolution.[122] Sherrill's Path was one of three routes that went in a general south or southwestern direction from the Shallow Ford. The first, *Island Ford Road*, ran from the Shallow Ford through Courtney to Island Ford on the Catawba just north of present I-40, now drowned by Lookout Shoals Lake.[123] The second was of course Sherrill's Path, and the third was its offshoot the *Georgia Road*, which ran from Calahaln east of County Line south through the future Mooresville to Charlotte. The Island Ford was also on the northern Trading Path from Salisbury, as noted, that crossed Sherrill's Path at Statesville, the road leading west into the mountains on the other side of the Catawba (after crossing it again at the Quaker Meadows or McDowell Ford at Morganton), and was probably the route taken by both Pardo in 1567 and Needham and Arthur in 1672. It seems, though, as if no road led from Island Ford toward the south at that early date, and indeed, not until approximately the mid-1760's, according to several maps of the area.[124] The Georgia Road also cannot be dated earlier than c.

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[120] Based on both plat maps and land grants obtained by the author at the North Carolina State Archives, 109 East Jones Street, Raleigh, North Carolina.

[121] As noted before, the McDowells of Quaker Meadows were of the same family as the ones in the Great Valley of Virginia. The 1812 Quaker Meadows house, built by Charles McDowell, Jr., still stands about a mile west of the Catawba River just off N. C. Highway 181 in Morganton. Both Greenlee and McDowell fords are on the Catawba River Greenway, a walking path that will eventually hug many miles of the Catawba in the Morganton-Hickory area, and perhaps farther.

[122] Greenlee Ford was the ford of the Overmountain Men both before and after the Battle of King's Mountain (the wife of Colonel Charles McDowell of Quaker Meadows was a Greenlee); McDowell Ford was the second Catawba crossing of the northern Trading Path; Lovelady Ford was where Lieutenant Larkin Cleveland of Wilkes County (brother of Colonel Benjamin Cleveland) was wounded on his way to the King's Mountain muster; Island Ford was the first Catawba ford of the northern Trading Path; Sherrill's Ford was the crossing for Sherrill's Path or the Great Wagon Road; Beatty's Ford was used as a diversion by Lord Cornwallis; Cowan's Ford was his main crossing; Tuckasegee Ford was used by both sides during the Revolution.

[123] Intriguingly, in northeastern Iredell County, the Island Ford Road and Sherrill's Path merged for a few miles: information obtained from an historical map of Iredell County in the Rowan County Register of Deeds office, Salisbury, probably based on the William Sharpe map of the Fourth Creek Settlement (later around Statesville), 1773.

[124] The lack of cartographic documentation means little, however: the Yellow Mountain Road, for instance, which the Overmountain Men used in their march to King's Mountain in 1780, was not mapped until 1808, 28 years later. Indeed, no road west of the Quaker Meadows (Morganton) was mapped until the early 19th century. It must be remembered that many of the people who moved to the backcountry did so to *escape* from governmental interference as much as possible, and therefore that many of the roads that led to places like the Watauga Settlement were not mapped is not surprising. Many roads even in more settled areas were not mapped for many years, either, a fact to be discussed later in the book.

1780 north of Torrance's Tavern, at Mount Mourne south of Mooresville.[125] Indeed, the Henry Mouzon Map of North and South Carolina, of 1775,[126] shows the road running from Sherrill's Ford through the future Gastonia to King's Mountain, and thence south or southwest to either Chester or Ninety Six, South Carolina. Chester was in the area of northern South Carolina once known as *Cow Heaven,* noted for its excellent pasturage, one such site being *Saunders' Cowpens*,[127] later the site of the Revolutionary battle, 17 January 1781.[128] Ninety Six was the Indian trading post 96 miles from Keowee, a major Cherokee town on the Keowee River opposite Fort Prince Charles, a French and Indian War fort near the present Clemson. From Chester the road went to Newberry and Saluda, and both it and the road from Ninety Six met at Augusta, Georgia, founded by James Oglethorpe in 1735-36. These routings made the Great Wagon Road between 750 and 800 miles long and passing into or through seven present states: Pennsylvania, Maryland, West Virginia, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia.[129]

Other history

The historical references of the Great Wagon Road are far from exhausted here, in either colonial days or later. The Macadamized highway of 1792 has already received notice, but the second such highway in the country was the section of this same road from Lancaster to Gettysburg. York, Pennsylvania was where the Articles of Confederation, the first Constitution of the United States, were adopted by Congress in 1777.[130] Gettysburg is of course renowned for the Civil War battle (which some have called the turning point of the Civil War), and Confederate Generals Robert E. Lee, James Longstreet, and George E. Pickett, and Union General George Meade. Samuel Houston, Jr., who made his name in the Texan War of Independence, and was later the first governor of Texas, was born on Timber Ridge north of Lexington, Virginia, and within sight of the Wagon Road, in 1793.[131] Also within sight of the Wagon Road near the same spot is Timber Ridge Presbyterian Church, its 1756 sanctuary still standing and in use, and the site of Liberty Hall Academy, which was the predecessor of Washington and Lee University:

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[125] Extrapolated from an undated petition to Rowan County officials referring to the road; provided by Al Hudson. The petitioners were mostly those that became residents of Iredell County on its formation in 1788. The tavern was the site of a small skirmish between the remains of Davidson's corps and Tarleton's Legion, 1 Feb. 1781.

[126] Cumming, *Maps*, pp. 21-22, and Plate VIII.

[127] Tour route sign, Cowpens National Battlefield, Chesnee, S. C.; Scheer, George F., *Splendid Antagonists*, Prologue to Fleming, Thomas J., *Downright Fighting : The Story of Cowpens*, Division of Publications, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C., 1988, p. 6. The tour route sign actually names *Hannah's Cowpens*, which was located where Limestone College is now, in Gaffney, South Carolina: information obtained from Dr. Bobby G. Moss, retired history professor of Limestone College, at a seminar at Cowpens National Battlefield.

[128] Fries, *Records*, p. 172; Alderman, *King's Mountain*, pp. 72-73. Cow Heaven encompassed most of north central South Carolina. Rouse, *Road*, p. 138, refers to the Waxhaws Settlement as part of Cow Heaven.

[129] Parke S. Rouse, Jr., *The Great Wagon Road*, lecture, Roper Mountain Center, Greenville, S. C., 21 April 1990, attended by the author; Lefler, Hugh T. and Newsome, Albert R., *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State*, Chapel Hill, UNC Press, 1954, pp. 77-78; hereafter called 'Lefler, *NC*'.

[130] Stevens, S. K., *York, Pa.*, World Book, Vol. 19, Field Enterprises, 1962, p. 471.

[131] Tennery, *Rockbridge*, p. 9.

Another Presbyterian pioneer was the Reverend Hugh McAden, who became one of the first "settled" (as opposed to itinerant) ministers in North Carolina. . .In 1759, he accepted a call from Hanover Presbytery, which Samuel Davies had helped establish, serving from Virginia southward to Georgia.

McAden recorded his first preaching mission down the Wagon Road in his journal. Traveling on horseback, he stopped overnight with Presbyterian ministers and laymen. . ..At the invitation of Reverend John Brown, he preached at the Timber Ridge Church in the Valley of Virginia.[132]

Steele's Tavern, Virginia, also a well-known stop on the Wagon Road in the nineteenth century, was associated with Cyrus Hall McCormick, inventor of the reaper, born a mile west of the town in 1809.[133] His reaper helped put the town on the map in 1831. Staunton, Virginia was in the heart of the 1736 *Beverley Manor*, and was the birthplace of Thomas Woodrow Wilson (1856-1924), 28th President of the United States, his birthplace still standing and a major tourist draw for the city. Lexington, Virginia, was the last home of Confederate General Thomas Jonathan *Stonewall* Jackson (his house also still stands), as well as the home of both Washington and Lee University and the Virginia Military Institute. The southern terminus of the Wagon Road, Augusta, Georgia, is renowned for many reasons. Founded in 1735 by James Oglethorpe as Georgia's frontier trading post, it was additionally the northwestern end of the *Ashley and Savannah River Road*, a major Indian trade route from Charleston, South Carolina, first cut in the 1710's to nearby Fort Moore, South Carolina.[134] It was also the eastern end of the *Oakfuskee Trail*, an equally ancient Indian trail connecting the Savannah River with the Mississippi, thus by that time connecting the English colonies of the Atlantic coast with the French settlements of the Mississippi basin. This fact formally established Augusta as the Gateway to the Deep South.[135] It was also where General (and later President) Andrew Jackson, born in the Waxhaws Settlement south of Charlotte in 1767, made his name in the campaigns of the Creek War of 1812 to 1814, concurrent with the War of 1812. In the climactic Battle of Horseshoe Bend, Alabama on 27 March 1814, Jackson met the young and brave Lieutenant Sam Houston, forming both a political and personal friendship that was to last for the rest of his life.

Many other roads existed in colonial America and the early United States, of course, but very few were subsequently as important as the Great Wagon Road at that time. One of those was the *National Road*, the great settlement road of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, which started in Cumberland, Maryland as the extension of the old *Cumberland Road* from Baltimore, the premier road of Maryland, and is now, more or less, U. S. Highway 40.[136] The Cumberland Road, intriguingly, passed through both

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[132] Rouse, *Road*, p. 59.

[133] Tennery, *Rockbridge*, pp. 13, 38-39.

[134] *Colonel Chicken's Journal To The Cherokees, 1725*, Travels in the American Colonies, pp. 95-172.

[135] John Mitchell's Map of North America, 1755; obtained by the author in Williamsburg, Virginia. This remarkable map is one of the most significant of North America, even embodying all that the French knew of the western part of the continent.

[136] Jackson, W. Turrentine, *National Road*, World Book, Vol. 13, Field Enterprises, 1962, p. 48.

Frederick, a main station on the Monocasy Trail, and Hagerstown,[137] on the Wagon Road, and was thus associated with both possible routes of the Great Wagon Road. The *Road to Mulberry Fields*, which ran to the present Wilkesboro, was cut from the Shallow Ford westward, and was, according to local tradition, one of the last public actions of Morgan Bryant, Sr. Local tradition also makes the claim that Morgan Bryant died on Good Friday 1763, little more than a month after he finished his work on the road.[138] This road, surveyed, cut by, and now named the *Daniel Boone Trail* for the great frontiersman, was also of great consequence in the settlement of Kentucky, having been extended by Boone in 1769 through the present Boone, North Carolina, and across the *Sycamore Shoals of the Watauga River*, now at Elizabethton, Tennessee, to the *Long Island of the Holston*, now Kingsport, Tennessee, the southernmost spot on the Great Valley Road to the Cumberland Gap and Kentucky.[139]

The Great Wagon Road and the coming of the Revolution

The Trading Path, Knox, Boone, Morgan, etc.

Yet another great road of settlement that was intimately connected by history with the Wagon Road was the Great Trading Path. Most of the early settlements of the North Carolina backcountry were arrayed either along or near it. One such was the *Irish Settlement*, sometimes called the *Second Creek Settlement*, on Second Creek northwest of Salisbury, on the branch of the Path that led from the Trading Ford to both Island Ford, now partially U. S. Highway 64, and Sherrill's Ford, now part of N. C. Highway 150, the settlement now called Cleveland. A notable resident of the Irish Settlement was John Knox (1700-1758), great-grandfather of James Knox Polk (1795-1849), 11th President of the United States.[140] Several incidents during the American Revolution helped to bind both roads to each other historically. General Daniel Morgan (1736-1802)--inaccurately rumored to be a younger kinsman of Sarah Morgan Boone, Daniel's mother--in his victory over Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton's British Legion, the quick strike force of General Charles Cornwallis, at the Battle of Cowpens, near both the Trading Path and the Wagon Road in South Carolina, 17 January 1781, initiated the final campaign of the American Revolution:

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[137] Hagerstown was named for Jonathan Hager, a German, who settled there in 1737. His 1740 house still stands.

[138] The tombstone of Martha Bryant, his wife, is now in Salisbury. The original Bryant Cemetery was finally destroyed by the construction of Oak Valley Golf Course and Development, north of Advance, Davie County, North Carolina. This is one of the stories to be told in *Historic Preservation Hall of Shame*, more or less the Appendix to the entire four-volume set, and still in progress at the present time.

[139] As previously stated, the road probably began as Morgan Bryant's driveway to the Shallow Ford, and became a wagon road to Mulberry Fields with the road order of 1770, probably continuing on to the Watauga Settlement--Boone, Elizabethton, and Johnson City--later that same year. This author has heard for years that Morgan Bryant, Sr. worked on this Mulberry Fields Road in 1763, but has yet to see any official documentation for it. Morgan, Sr. was 92 that year, which is a known fact tending to discourage belief in the truth of that assertion. It is known for certain that Morgan Bryant, Jr. worked on the 1770 road, from his name being listed on the road order.

[140] Ramsey, *Cradle*, pp. 117-129, 181; also depicted on a geneological tree of the Knox family, Rowan Public Library, Salisbury. The John Knox cabin of 1757 was unfortunately destroyed by fire in the 1950's. The site is commemorated by North Carolina State Historical Marker L 26, U. S. Highway 70 at State Road 1001, west of Cleveland in Rowan County. The house stood four miles west of the marker.

When you Left me you remember that I was desirous to have a Stroke at Tarleton--my wishes are Gratified, & I have Given him a devil of a whiping, a more compleat victory never was obtained.[141]

Both Morgan and General Nathaniel Greene (1742-1786), Morgan's superior, knew they didn't have the strength to challenge Cornwallis's main army, even if both armies were joined, and so both fell into retreat, in the pouring rain, across the Catawba, Yadkin, and Dan Rivers, attempting to reach safety in Virginia and to draw Cornwallis away from his supply base at Winnsboro, South Carolina, 60 miles south of Charlotte, which he had been driven to by fright after the Battle of King's Mountain, a little more than three months before. Cornwallis's temper goaded him into doing that very thing; he was also constrained by the loss of his light troops at Cowpens to attempt to recover them from captivity, come hell or high water.[142]

Generals Greene and Cornwallis, the Trading Path, and the Great Wagon Road

The history of this pursuit by Lord Cornwallis is a fascinating story, including the hopeless rearguard action of General William Lee Davidson[143] at Cowan's Ford, which is located just downstream (south) from the Cowan's Ford Dam, behind which is the largest manmade lake in North Carolina, Lake Norman. In the early morning hours of 1 February 1781, Cornwallis crossed with his main force, killing General Davidson and scattering his approximately 200-man force, but the strong current of the Catawba River and Davidson's brigade still took well over 100 British and Tories with them:

Cowan's Ford was a daring and gallant action by the British, but the cost was dear. Cornwallis did not admit that his losses were heavy. He reported four dead and thirty-six wounded, but that certainly cannot be true. The Tory Nicholas Gosnell saw soldiers drowning, and Robert Henry and his neighbors were also witnesses to the heavy toll taken by the Catawba. The day after the action Robert and his friends went to the river to see if James Cunningham's fish trap contained any fish and found in it fourteen dead men, "several of whom appeared to have no wound, but had drowned. We pushed them into the water, they floated off, and each went to his home." Then he gave the reports of "every person who lived at or near the river between Cowan's Ford and Tuckaseage Ford: That a great number of British dead were found on Thompson's fish-dam, and in his trap, and numbers lodged on brush, and drifted to the banks; that the river stunk with dead carcases; that the British could not have lost less than one hundred men on that occasion."[144]

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[141] From a letter written by General Morgan to William Snickers, 1781; Buchanan, John, *The Road to Guilford Courthouse, The American Revolution In The Carolinas*, John Wiley & Sons, Inc., New York, 1997, p. 329; hereafter called "Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*."

[142] The claim can be made that he literally got both.

[143] General Davidson, a veteran of the winter at Valley Forge and a great militia commander, was the namesake of the town of Davidson, Mecklenburg County, as well as Davidson College of that same town, Davidson County, Tennessee (county seat, Nashville), and Davidson County, North Carolina.

[144] Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, p. 348. Robert Henry was a fifteen-year-old veteran of the Battle of King's Mountain and a participant in this skirmish.

The most remarkable thing, though, that can be said about this retreat and pursuit was the continual turning of Lord Cornwallis's force at the last minute before he could engage Greene, in such a manner that men of both sides began to conceive of it as the continual intervention of God Himself. The first major example of this was at the Trading Ford east of Salisbury, when the colonials reached the east bank of the Yadkin in the late afternoon, and just as the waters of the Trading Ford began to rise too high for Lord Cornwallis to pursue, less than a quarter-mile away on the west bank:[145]

> *The goal of both armies was Trading Ford on the Yadkin. There Greene joined Morgan and the Continentals on 3 February. The rain had been incessant and torrential, "every step being up to our Knees in Mud it raining On us all the Way," wrote Lieutenant Thomas Anderson. Brigadier General Edward Stevens of Virginia had arrived at Trading Ford on 2 February and found it impassable for men. Six days later he wrote to Thomas Jefferson, "The Great Quantity of Rain that fell the night before raised the River in such a manner as made it difficult to Cross even in Boats." As perilous as such a crossing would be, the expected juncture with General Isaac Huger's column had not occurred, and Greene had with him less than half the army. To fight Cornwallis, especially with a raging river at his back, was out of the question. He had to cross.*
>
> *All day the boats went back and forth, carrying the troops and their supplies and the refugees and most of their wagons, all without loss or mishap. O'Hara's van, pushing hard through Salisbury on the road to Trading Ford, came up that evening to find only a few civilian wagons left with some 150 militia as rear guard. Shots were exchanged, O'Hara got the wagons and contents. The rear guard, O'Hara wrote, "in the language of this country, split and squandered, that is run away." But General Stevens wrote that the rear guard had been ordered "to give them a fire or Two and then Disperse down the River and Cross in Canoes which they executed very well." O'Hara saw the boats that the King's Friends had not told Cornwallis about secured under a high bluff on the American side of a river that showed no signs of falling. Once more the British could stand on one side of a river and look at the American on the other side.*[146]

The denial of Cornwallis' prize must have seemed very bitter to him, and his army of British regulars and local Loyalists, after a futile cannonading across the river that, according to some accounts, tore up some soil, killed a few animals, but did no damage at all to the American troops.[147] Cornwallis was forced to turn to the north for

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[145] The water had already started to rise too high even for General Greene to cross, and he was therefore in very desperate straights to get away, for he had nowhere near the force needed to engage the rapidly-pursuing Cornwallis. But his meticulous planning had even taken this scenario into account: several boats had already been built by men sent ahead several weeks in advance, in order to make his escape possible.

[146] Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, p. 349-50.

[147] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1673. The Diaries here state that this was a bloody battle at the Trading Ford. They probably had it confused with the skirmishes at Cowan's Ford and Torrence's Tavern, three days before. See also Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, p. 350.

thirty miles and cross at the Shallow Ford--on the Wagon Road--in a frantic, forced-march attempt to engage Greene's smaller army.[148]

Truth and Falsehoods: Steele, "Pudding Ridge," and Henning

Three stories of a more human scale concerning this took place near this time. First, General Greene, in retreat from Charlotte, was in desperate straights to evade Lord Cornwallis, he not having even half of the force needed to engage the British Army, and also greatly in need of funds for his own men. Elizabeth Maxwell Steele (1733-1791) ran a tavern in Salisbury at the time, and heard that he was *hungry, penniless, and without a friend*, gave General Greene one bag of gold, another of silver with the words, *Take these, General. You need them; and I can do without them.* When he thanked her, she said, *Now you are no longer without food, money, nor friends.* For this self-sacrificing act, the Salisbury chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution was named in her honor,[149] and General Greene was also said to have remembered it until his dying day.[150]

Second, in his maneuver north from the Trading Ford, Lord Cornwallis was desperately in need of speed in his pursuit of General Greene, and his desperation clearly transmitted itself to the rest of the army, because as a result of the Battle of Cowpens, where Tarleton's Legion was humiliated, he had no light troops for use in scouting, and could do so only with the actions of the entire army. Unfortunately for them, all that the army found on their way north, however, was rain, more rain, and still more rain, turning the roads into virtually impassible quagmires by day and frozen moonscapes by night.[151] One branch of the army camped on the Bryant farm on Dutchman's Creek south of Farmington, in present Davie County. According to tradition, one of the soldiers--or maybe it was Cornwallis himself--described walking in the camp as trying to walk through thick English pudding, and the name Pudding Ridge has been used for the spot ever since.[152]

Third, as the army crossed the Shallow Ford, the story has been told that the Hessian mercenary that was recruited to carry Lord Cornwallis's baggage lost a very expensive cup from the wagon. When Cornwallis received word of it, he reportedly was furious with the soldier, vowing to either court martial, scourge, or hang him--which one it was, or whether it was all three, is unknown, all such stories having been

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[148] North Carolina State Historical Marker J9, Shallow Ford Road, Forsyth County; James Wall, pamphlet, Davie County Historical Society; Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, pp. 350-51.

[149] *The Great Wagon Road*, pamphlet for the Great Wagon Road seminar at Roper Mountain Center, Greenville, S. C., 21 April 1990, containing historical anecdotes and tombstone inscriptions, etc.

[150] Rouse, *Road*, p. 71. Parke Rouse mistakenly called her 'Elizabeth Shield.'

[151] The phrase was used by John Buchanan in *The Road to Guilford Courthouse*, p. 340. Hence, as previously surmised, Lord Cornwallis got both hell and high water.

[152] Local tradition of Davie County. It is known that Cornwallis crossed Rocky Ford on Dutchman's Creek at that spot, military remains having been discovered in the neighborhood for several years. It is also surmised that he would want to stay close to the known Loyalists of whatever area he was in, another point in favor of camping at that spot, the Bryants having been the most notable Loyalists of the area.

Also, a housing development and golf course called Pudding Ridge is now built on the ridge, and the clubhouse has portraits of both Generals Greene and Cornwallis, though General Greene's being there is actually a mistake, he having crossed the river at the Trading Ford. Still, it was in pursuit of Greene that Cornwallis marched through the future Davie County.

told at one time or another. Rather than face court martial, receiving 500 lashes,[153] or possibly death (and maybe all three), this German soldier deserted the army--this may have been *planned* by the soldier, possibly due to his feeling that merely guarding *baggage* was not a duty that should be assigned to a professional soldier--and hid among the German population of the Wachovia Tract. This man's name was Henning, and was the ancestor of the Henning family of Forsyth County.[154]

Greene and Cornwallis, Part Two

This desperate march continued for many days and miles, various maneuvers being made over much of the present Forsyth, northern Davidson, Guilford, and Rockingham counties,[155] eventually culminating at the Dan River, which the British found flooded by the same rain they had marched in from the Catawba.[156] The boats constructed on the Dan by Quartermaster General Edward Carrington of the Continental Army,[157] construction unknown to Cornwallis, insured Greene's and Morgan's escape to safety in Virginia, and gave Cornwallis every reason to conceive of this as the campaign from hell. This scenario obviously fueled an especially bitter feeling, when considering his elation at virtually having his own way in South Carolina less than a year previously, due of course to Major Ferguson--before his death at the Battle of King's Mountain[158]--and Colonel Tarleton's complete humiliation at Cowpens. The massacres of Tories by both sides--particularly Pyle's Massacre by Lee's Legion and Tarleton's massacre of a Loyalist column--didn't help Cornwallis's recruitment problems, either:

The most extensive record by a participant of what happened on the afternoon of 25 February 1781 was written thirty-one years later by Light Horse Harry Lee, and he had a large stake in the opinion of posterity. It began when two young riders

[153] It is well known that Daniel Morgan received 500 lashes (minus 1) from a scourge during the French and Indian War for striking an officer, during the march of General Edward Braddock toward the present Pittsburg; he bore the horrible scars to his dying day in 1802.

[154] Based on stories related by Richard and Taylor Henning. There is some question about this old family tradition, though, for it is documented that Lord Cornwallis had most of his army's baggage train burned at Ramseur's Mill, on the South Fork of the Catawba near the modern Lincolnton, starting with his own baggage and presumably destroying the cup, if it indeed existed, at that time: Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, pp. 340-41. Also, there is no reference to a Henning deserting the British and hiding in Wachovia recorded in the Moravian Diaries, but that may be due to the Moravians leaving no hint such had happened until after the British left the area. A Hessian soldier deserted the British army just before Guilford Court House: Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1687, but remained unnamed; this possibly was Henning, but the scenario does not fit the Henning's story. I do not mean to suggest the incident never happened, but that probably it was not in North Carolina. It possibly happened in Pennsylvania, which had a large German population--and with the Moravians of Bethlehem in frequent contact with Wachovia--or in South Carolina: between the Broad and Saluda Rivers was called the " Dutch Fork", populated mainly with Germans of Loyalist sympathies (given these choices, I would probably choose the last); Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, p. 309.

Another scenario is this: Governor Josiah Martin also accompanied Cornwallis through North Carolina, and did not destroy his baggage at Ramseur's Mill, in which case it could have been his cup that was lost. If this was Governor Martin's cup, an extreme penalty may possibly have been in the offing; however, there is still no record of this, either.

[155] Among the accounts are those in Fries, *Records IV*, pp. 1656-1783, passim.

[156] Hughes, Fred, *North Carolina Historical Documentation, Guilford County*, Jamestown, The Custom House, 1980. See also Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, for the complete story in Chapter 22, " Bayonets and Zeal."

[157] Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, pp. 288-89, 358. Greene was a supply genius, recognized previously by General Washington, who made him QM General: Greene also saw it in Carrington, an unsung hero of the Revolution.

[158] Alderman, *King's Mountain.*

from the 400-man Tory band of Colonel John Pyle, while searching for Tarleton, met Lee's van. Seeing the green-jacketed Rebel dragoons, "they were rejoiced in meeting us" and were so deceived that they thought Lee was Tarleton. Lee and Pickens had been carrying out this deception since crossing the Haw. They both reported to Greene that they hoped to pass Pyle's column and attack Tarleton. . .One of the Tory scouts was sent to Colonel Pyle "with Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton's gratulations," and a request that Pyle's column move to the side of the road to allow the "much fatigued troops to pass without delay to their night position." Lee claimed that he planned to confront Pyle, reveal his identity, and promise no harm if the Tories either went home or united with their countrymen. . . Probably at a walk, at the most a slow trot, Lee's Legion proceeded along the road. Drawn up on the side, Colonel John Pyle's Tory militia stared at the man they thought to be the legendary Banastre Tarleton leading his hard-bitten British Legion. . .Then fighting began in the rear and quickly escalated. Lee said that the Tories recognized the Rebel militia and started it. . . What followed was quick and bloody. Lee's dragoons wheeled their mounts and charged at completely surprised men who were at most two horse lengths from them and began hacking away. They sabered to death at least ninety Tories and wounded most of the survivors, who dispersed in all directions. . .Charles Stedman labeled it a "foul massacre" and claimed that "between two and three hundred men were inhumanly butchered while in the act of begging for mercy," but ninety dead Tories remains the accepted figure. Lee lost one horse.[159]

Early on the morning of 4 March a Tory band intent on joining Cornwallis approached Tarleton's lines and were mistaken for Rebels. Dragoons of the British Legion charged, sabered some, and dispersed the others in wild flight. When the Legion realized its error riders were sent to round up the terror-stricken men, but they would not hear apologies or assurances of protection. The following night an American dragoon patrol found Tories driving cattle to Cornwallis's camp. They killed twenty-three drovers. Word of these incidents was spread far and wide, and if after Pyle's Massacre there had been any glimmer of hope among the King's Friends that their day of deliverance might arrive, it vanished amid the shrieks of men being hacked to death by hard-charging dragoons of both sides.[160]

Many more such small and not-so-small actions,[161] which kept the nerves of the men of both sides on edge almost continually, occured virtually every day, while Gen. Greene kept avoiding battle with the British army, knowing of Cornwallis's extremely desperate supply situation. Lord Cornwallis' Pyrrhic victory at the Battle of Guilford

[159] Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, pp. 363-64.

[160] Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, pp. 365-66.

[161] One such action was the Battle of Weitzel's Mill, where Lord Cornwallis almost forced General Greene to battle by attacking a smaller detachment of the Continental Army, but which Lieutenant Colonel Henry Lee's and militia General Andrew Pickens' fast thinking averted. Pickens' men deserted after the battle, they said for having been misused by the Continental troops, and Pickens was required to accompany them back to South Carolina, a loss to Greene's force sorely missed at Guilford Courthouse.

Courthouse, 15 March 1781, due to his desperation--and need--to win at any cost,[162] left his army in possession of both the battlefield and Greene's artillery, but so weakened by the fire of the American militia,[163] the almost overwhelming attack from the American Third Line, and especially his own actions in the battle[164] that he was forced to retreat to Wilmington,[165] eventually marching his tired army to Yorktown, Virginia, where the American and French armies under Generals Washington and Rochambeau and the French fleet under Admiral DeGrasse forced his surrender on 19 October 1781, virtually assuring American victory in the Revolution.[166]

Such are a few of the historic events and people associated with the settlement and growth of the Piedmont of North Carolina, people who arrived at least partially by the Great Wagon Road. The significance of the Wagon Road cannot be underestimated, especially in regard to the premier county of northwestern North Carolina that it crossed: Forsyth County. An examination of this history is in order, and of historical connections with other roads and settlements, especially the part played by the Moravian Church in Forsyth County, a documentary exploration that takes place in the next chapter.

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[162] *The Battle of Guilford Courthouse, 1781-1981*, Guilford Courthouse Commemoration Committee, 1981, p. 10.

[163] The first volley from the militia killed about fifteen percent of all British casualties in the battle, and the continued resistance of men like Captain Arthur Forbis of the Guilford County militia (who held his ground until mortally wounded) depleted the British force even more, perhaps to twenty percent before they ever engaged even one of the Continental troops.

[164] To win the battle, Lord Cornwallis ordered his gunners to fire grapeshot into the crowd of Hessian Guards and Continentals on the battle's third line, in order to prevent a complete rout of his forces, a rout that was almost effected even in spite of it, and might still have been had not General Greene already ordered a retreat. Cornwallis had to win, due mainly to his supply situation; all General Greene had to do was avoid serious defeat. Both achieved their ostensible intent, yet General Greene maintained his army's viability; Cornwallis could take no advantage, having lost a fifth of his officers and a fourth of his men to death and disease. Charles James Fox, of the English Parliament, said on hearing of the battle's results, "Another such victory would ruin the British Army." Indeed, Cornwallis had only one more major victory: the Battle of Green Spring, fought near Jamestown, Virginia against the Pennsylvania Line under the command of General 'Mad Anthony' Wayne, before his surrender after the Battle of Yorktown.

[165] His force was so bloodied by the Battle of Guilford Court House, that even the diehard Loyalists of the Cross Creek area (now Fayetteville) refused to turn out in any great number except to shake Cornwallis' hand and return home.

[166] Alderman, *King's Mountain*, p. 77; Buchanan, *Guilford Courthouse*, Ch. 24 " Guilford Courthouse: *Long, Obstinate, and Bloody*"

CHAPTER TWO: "DER WACHAU" AND THE ROAD TO NORTH CAROLINA

The Great Road - to Kentucky?

A road by its very nature reflects the wants and needs of the people that live near it. In addition, not all would conceive of it in the same way, for each has his own purpose in its use. A great illustration of this is in the many different names used at one time or another for the Great Wagon Road. Among the many were *The Upper Road to Pennsylvania*, Bishop Spangenberg's name;[167] *Bryant's Road*, partially cut by the Bryants;[168] *Bad Road*, the most common name for the road, clearly an epithet; the *Virginia Road* in North Carolina east of the Yadkin River; the *Carolina Road*, from the Staunton Gap south in Virginia;[169] the *Georgia Road* or *Sherrill's Path* on the west side of the Yadkin River;[170] the *King's Highway*, and many others. Because of the many names, the contention has been made that the colonists didn't even think of this as a single road. This claim is supported by two facts: one, the Great Valley Road went all the way from both the Watkins and Williams Ferries, now at and near Williamsport, Maryland, to the Long Island of the Holston, now Kingsport, Tennessee,[171] and some even say it continued to the Cumberland Gap and into Kentucky; two, nothing in writing from *any* 18th century Register of Deeds or county Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions in any colony refers to any road as the Great Wagon Road.[172]

This would seem to suggest that the name any particular road had was determined by the destination one had in mind when using it. It would appear to be a plausible idea, based on these historically documented facts, were it not for two other facts that need a closer examination.

The Fry-Jefferson Map and other surveys

The first fact concerns a major mid-18th century map of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware, with small portions of North Carolina, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania depicted also: the Joshua Fry-Peter Jefferson Map of 1751.[173] In 1749 Fry and Jefferson surveyed virtually all of the backcountry of both Virginia and Maryland in preparing their map. In surveying the Natural Bridge that year, as noted, Jefferson employed 17-year-old George Washington. Fry and Jefferson also extended the North Carolina-Virginia line westward from Colonel William Byrd's survey of 1728, employing North Carolina surveyors Daniel Weldon and William Churton, who contributed what they knew to the map, about half of the Granville District. In 1755, this map was updated by Colonel J. Dalrymple, based on information that was received subsequent to the first publication. Two major changes from the 1751 map were: one,

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[167] Fries, *Records*, p. 59.

[168] See 1771 Surry County map, map section. Joseph Bryant also said they cut it as they came south in 1748.

[169] Based on an account by Dr. Francis Amos of Rocky Mount, Va.

[170] Based on accounts by Howell Boone and Al Hudson.

[171] Kincaid, *Road*, pp. 33-168, passim.

[172] The late Howell Boone, letter to Joe Matthews of the Northwest Piedmont Council of Governments, 1984.

[173] Cumming, William, *The Southeast in Early Maps*, Plate 51.

making the depiction of the Yadkin River and its valley much more accurate than it was previously; and two, the addition of a road from Philadelphia through the Great Valley and points south called *The Great Road from the Yadkin River thro Virginia to Philadelphia distant 435 Miles*.[174] This is the only official 18th century documentation for that particular name, cartographic or otherwise, that this author has ever heard of or seen. The second fact concerns the 1752-53 journal of Moravian Bishop August Gottlieb Spangenberg (1704-1792), a journal which requires further scrutiny, due to its great significance in describing the North Carolina backcountry of that day, and the roads of the area in particular.[175]

The "Unitas Fratrum"

A few words about the Moravian Church seem in order at this point. The Moravians are a Protestant religious denomination, the spiritual inheritors of the teachings of John Hus, a Bohemian priest and religious reformer of the late 14th and early 15th centuries. The martyrdom of Hus at Constanz, Germany in 1415, at the hands of Roman Church authorities, and two subsequent wars of religious persecution, the second being essentially coincidental with the Thirty Years War (1618-48), scattered the few surviving members of the *Unitas Fratrum*--the official name of the Moravian Church, United Brethren. These wars sent them into hiding and almost complete disappearance as the so-called *Hidden Seed*--noted in many volumes on the Moravian Church--until 1722, when Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, a nobleman of Saxony, invited the remnants of the church to his lands in southern Germany, where they built the town of Herrnhut--*The Lord's Watch*--that same year. The name Moravian derived from the fact that most of the members of the Church at that time were residents of Bohemia and Moravia, provinces of the present Czech Republic. They eventually came to North America, settling first at Savannah, Georgia in 1735, but left there in 1740 and founded Bethlehem, Pennsylvania the following year. Ten years later--November 1751--the Church authorities in England received an inducement from Lord Granville to settle in his District in North Carolina. Accordingly, Bishop Spangenberg and a small party, including Herman Loesch--now spelled Lash, as it is pronounced--who later became one of the first twelve settlers of the Wachovia Tract, set out from Bethlehem on 25 August 1752, attempting to find a 100,000 acre tract somewhere in the Granville District of North Carolina, that acreage having been authorized by Lord Granville.[176]

The "Lords Proprietors" and the Granville District

A word must also be said here about the Granville District. In 1663 eight courtiers of King Charles II[177] were granted a large tract of land between Virginia and Spanish Florida, and extending from the Atlantic to--supposedly--the Pacific, out of which three

[174] Copy of the map obtained by the author in Prentis Store, Williamsburg, Virginia.
[175] Diary reprinted in Fries, *Records*, pp. 30-62.
[176] Fries, *Records*, pp. 11-27.
[177] The original eight were Sir John Colleton; George, Duke of Albemarle; Anthony, Lord Ashley; Sir George Carteret; Sir William Berkley; Edward, Earl of Clarendon; William, Earl of Craven; John, Lord Berkeley.

colonies were eventually carved: North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. This large grant became known as Carolina after the King, and the eight became known as the Lords Proprietors. Problems with the governance of the grant, due at least partially to its size and widely separated areas of settlement--centered around Albemarle Sound in North Carolina and Charleston in South Carolina--induced the Proprietors to sell their shares of interest in the land back to the King in 1729, except for one: Lord John Carteret (1690-1763)[178]--grandson of Sir George Carteret the original proprietor--who became the Earl of Granville on the death of his mother in 1744. Earl Granville retained a 77-mile-wide tract next to the Virginia line as his own one-eighth share.[179]

The financial agreement one entered into with Lord Granville is also of great consequence in this inquiry:

> *Containing in the whole Six hundred and forty Acres,*[180] *All which said premises are more particularly described and set forth in the Plan or Map thereof, hereunto annexed; together with all Woods, Underwoods, Timber, and Timber Trees, Water-Courses, and the Privileges of Hunting, Hawking, Fishing and Fowling, in and upon the Premisses; and all Mines and Minerals whatsoever therein to be found, excepting and reserving always, out of this present Grant, and to the King's Most Excellent Majesty, his Heirs and Successors, One Fourth Part of all the Gold and Silver Mines, to be found in and upon the premisses; and also, excepting and reserving thereout, unto the said John Earl Granville, his Heirs and Assigns, one Moiety, or half Part of the remaining Three Fourths of all such Gold and Silver Mines.*[181]

As this proves, the royal and proprietary tax on gold and silver, and therefore impacting the availability of hard money, amounted to five-eights of the gold and silver to be found. This fact will become significant to a discussion concerning the Wagon Road later in this chapter.

Granville, McCullogh, and the London Merchant grants

Subsequent history is also significant in this inquiry concerning Granville. In 1737 the London Merchants, among whom were Henry McCullogh, one of Lord Granville's commissioners, and Arthur Dobbs--later Royal Governor of North Carolina, 1754-1765--were in turn granted twelve 100,000 acre tracts in North Carolina, located in the backwoods on the Eno, Yadkin, and Catawba Rivers. Charlotte, in the Catawba valley, for instance, is located on what was Tract #3; Lexington, in present Davidson County, was on Tract #9; and Tract #11 was in present Alamance and Guilford counties. The apparent understanding of McCullogh was that the Granville land would end at the Eno, and not interfere with the area where his grants were located. Lord Granville's Line started on the Outer Banks, and ran just north of the town of Bath, the oldest incorporated town in North Carolina--of 1705--and in 1746 was extended from the

[178] Ramsey, *Cradle,* p. 6.

[179] Originally thought to be 84 miles wide, the error was discovered when Surry County was surveyed in 1771.

[180] One square mile, the most common acreage for a land grant.

[181] Taken from an actual grant on file in the Division of Archives and History in Raleigh.

Pamlico River near Washington to Coldwater Creek on the present Rowan-Cabarrus county line. Because this was well beyond the Eno line of his understanding, McCullogh naturally complained to the Crown, claiming that Granville had usurped 475,000 acres of his 1,200,000. In addition, the Rowan and Orange county line was subsequently drawn within the District, now eight miles west of the east lines of Rockingham, Guilford, and Randolph, in 1753. Granville, in this Machiavellian move, arranged for McCullogh's grant #11 to fall entirely within Orange, and had the county seat of Corbintown--which he had named for Sir Francis Corbin, Granville's colonial agent, and now called Hillsboro--placed where the Trading Path crossed the Eno River, just east of McCullogh's Tract. This denied McCullogh a not inconsiderable income from the sale of lands for public purposes. This also implies yet another problem for McCullogh because of the stipulation that at least 3625 people had to settle on his land, towns of course translating into lots of people on little land. In 1754, seventeen years after the original grant, only 854 people--somewhat over 23 percent--had taken options on McCullogh's land, possibly owing to the uncertainty as to whether to pay the quitrents to McCullogh or Granville. These legal, financial, and personal problems between McCullogh and Granville were finally settled by Lord Granville's death on 2 January 1763 and McCullogh's surrender of his grants below the Granville line to the Crown in 1767.[182]

The Journey of Bishop Spangenburg

Sir Francis Corbin and William Churton

This--along with the recent death of Governor Gabriel Johnston[183] --was a small part of the political landscape of North Carolina when Bishop Spangenberg and a small party--Herman Loesch (Lash), Heinrich (Henry) Antes, Timothy Horsefield, Johann Merck, and Joseph Mueller[184] --arrived in Edenton on 10 September 1752. The route they took to North Carolina was down the coast road from Philadelphia across New Jersey and down the Delmarva Peninsula to Cheriton and by ferry to Norfolk, thence south to Edenton, because they knew not where they might have to go in North Carolina to find their *body of land.*[185] From Sir Francis Corbin, the previously mentioned colonial agent for Granville, the Bishop's party received the dismaying news that there was not an accurate map of either North Carolina or the Granville District, and only the surveyor could tell anyone if a certain piece of land was taken up or not, not even Mr. Corbin knowing where the vacant land was located.[186]

There should have been a general surveyor from the beginning of the Colony, who

[182] This paragraph based on passages in Lefler, *NC*, and Mitchell, Thornton, *The Granville District and its Land Records*, The North Carolina Historical Review, Vol. LXX, Number 2, April 1993, Division of Archives and History, Raleigh, pp. 103-129, hereafter called 'Mitchell, *Granville* '.

[183] Governor Johnston, a very able governor, died 17 July 1752--his death was deeply mourned in North Carolina--and first Council President Nathaniel Rice and then his successor Matthew Rowan--for whom Rowan County was named--became Acting Governor. The next royal governor, Arthur Dobbs, did not arrive until October 1754.

[184] Fries, *Records*, p. 28.

[185] Fries, *Records*, pp. 30-31.

[186] Fries, *Records*, pp. 32-33.

should have had a map of the whole territory, and as from time to time land was surveyed, and the special surveyor made his returns, it should have been entered on the map, which would then have shown what land was vacant and what had been taken up. Unfortunately we can find nor hear of such a map. . .When I asked Mr. Francis Corbin about a map he told me that he had been doing his best to have one made, and had given orders to the surveyor in each County to make a chart showing the land that had been taken up in his County. . Meanwhile there is neither a general surveyor's map of the Granville District nor of the individual Counties. Therefore we do not know what land is vacant, and can only take for granted the word of the surveyor who says that such and such a piece has already been taken up. Mr. Francis Corbin himself does not know, and is still "in the dark."[187]

The surveyor duly assigned to the Bishop's party turned out to be William Churton, who had participated with Fry, Jefferson, and Weldon in the extension of the North Carolina-Virginia line some three years earlier, and would actually be the major compiler of the information presented on the John Collet Map of 1770,[188] published three years after Churton's death. Churton was the designated surveyor for the western counties of Granville, Rowan, and Orange. The latter two counties were still a part of Anson in 1752, though they already were authorized to be created the next year, Acting Governor Matthew Rowan taking the occasion to name one after himself. Based on the fact that no map as yet existed the only suggestion that Francis Corbin could make--one that was admittedly a rather embarrassed and regretful one--was to follow the Trading Path to *the back of the colony*, i.e., to the mountains, and see what they might find.

The malarial swamps of Edenton

According to the Bishop's journal, the party had a rough time of it from the start. The low land around Edenton[189] was the breeding ground for mosquitoes, and all but one became very ill, probably with malaria, by the time they got to present Granville County on the 21st, three days after leaving Edenton:[190]

North Carolina in Granville County, 153 miles from Edenton, at the home of Mr. John Sallis, Sept. 25, 1752. Here at the home of Mr. John Sallis the Savior has stopped us for a little while, and four of our company have been in bed with a bad attack of chills and fever. . .We believe that we caught the fever in Edenton, and brought it with us, for there is so much fever in that town that hardly anyone gets through a year without an attack.[191]

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[187] Fries, *Records*, p. 32-33.

[188] Fries, *Records*, p. 305. An intriguing fact about their survey is that the line moved gradually to the north as it traveled west, unlike Colonel Byrd's survey, which is almost due west, but itself running a little south.

[189] This was, of course, due to the lack of free-flowing rivers: the sounds acted more or less as large cesspools, with extremely stagnant waters, and the lowlands were virtual swamps, as a great many of them are to this day, particularly Dismal Swamp on the border of Virginia and North Carolina, north and east of Edenton.

[190] Ironically, the Bishop had just expressed relief they had left Edenton before contracting malaria.

[191] Fries, *Records*, pp.38-39.

Bishop Spangenburg's illness lasted until they came to present Guilford County, and two others had to remain behind at Capt. Sennett's house in Granville County, one caring for the other, until they left for Pennsylvania, unable to rejoin their companions after recovering:

> *When some of us had recovered, and others were somewhat improved, we took up our journey, though it went poorly, especially for me. The first day we made no progress. The second day we tried it again, but had to rest frequently, for I could hardly ride an hour at a time. . .Br. Horsefield had a return of fever, and finally had to stop at the home of a certain Captain, where we could have good accomodations, and we left Br. Joseph Mueller, our never-to-be- forgotten nurse, to take care of him.*[192]

Because of the care they took of their sick in the company, many people of the area began to wish that many of the Moravians would hurry and arrive in North Carolina:[193]

> *. . .we heard much about them, for Br. Horsefield's illness and Br. Mueller's care of him had attracted much attention, and everybody was saying, "Oh, if people like this would only move here quickly!"*[194]

The Trading Path and the Blue Ridge

Bishop Spangenberg also picked up two helpers in Granville County, Henry Day and John Rhode, who became chain carriers for the group once they reached the mountains, Rhode accompanying them until they surveyed Wachovia.[195] The journey of the Bishop's party eventually took them into the mountains near Blowing Rock and Boone, and possibly even Virginia or Tennessee, and they of course got quite lost. The reason for this, of course, is that, after they crossed the Catawba River at Island Ford, the crossing for the northern Trading Path, there were absolutely no roads at all, except to the home of Andrew Lambert, on the South Fork of the Catawba, south of the present Hickory:[196]

> *We spent a couple of days with Andreas Lambert, a Scotchman, where we provided ourselves with provisions for our journey into the forest. Hitherto we had been on the Trading Path, where we could find at least one house a day where food*

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[192] Fries, *Records*, p. 43.

[193] Fries, *The Road to Salem*, p. 41.

[194] Fries, *Records*, p. 31.

[195] See n. 198-201, next page.

[196] Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 71; Fries, *Records*, pp. 30, 44. Note: Ms. Fries located Lambert's property at Island Ford on the Catawba, and therefore inaccurately. There had been an Indian path that continued on this line to the McDowell Ford at Morganton, crossing to the village of Xualla in either the Quaker Meadows or the Pleasant Meadows, visited by both DeSoto in 1540 and Pardo in 1567 (though NC Archives and History say DeSoto traveled farther west than McDowell County). It traveled to Chota, the Cherokee capital on the Little Tennessee River, and the southern point on the Great Warriors' Path: see map, Alderman, *King's Mountain*, pp. 48-49.

An intriguing incident concerning Andrew Lambert is preserved in the Moravian Diaries, illustrating just how far in the backcountry he was: Seneca Indians, a tribe of Iroquois, came to his farm, and tried to steal several things from him; he released his eight or nine large hunting dogs on them, and by the time Bishop Spangenberg arrived had not, unsurprisingly, had any more trouble from them; Fries, *Records*, p. 48.

could be bought; but from here we were to turn into the pathless forest.[197]

The need for experienced help in getting around the area was evident also, and is also spoken of quite early by Bishop Spangenberg:

> *Another point mentioned for information.--When the Brethren come they would find it useful to employ the hunters, whom we have with us to carry the chains and to furnish us with game. These men could conduct them to this and the other tracts,*[198] *and show them where our land lies. They are Henry Day, who lives in Granville Co., near Mr. John Sallis; John Perkin, who lives on the Catawba, and is acquainted with Andreas Lambert, a well-known Scotchman; and John Rhode, who lives about twenty miles from Capt. Sennett,*[199] *on the road to Atkins.*[200] *Of these I particularly recommend John Perkin, who is intelligent, best acquainted with the forest, industrious, a successful hunter, and I think fond of the Brethren. I suggest using these men because at this time practically no one lives in these parts, and no one else will know our tracts and their boundaries except the Brethren who are in our company, and they will quickly forget the forests, which are as trackless as the ocean.*[201]

This reference to the *pathless forest* occurs again and again in the Moravian Diaries, and is extremely significant in any discussion concerning the Wagon Road, as will be made plain later in this chapter.

Bishop Spangenberg, it of course being his wont to exhaustively chronicle what he saw on this journey, also wrote of this complete lack of a proper road--or even an improper road--in his diary as they explored the mountains:

> *. . . but why speak of paths, when there are none except those the buffalo have made? . . [Buffalo] tracks are everywhere, and can often be followed with profit. Frequently, however, a man cannot travel them, for they go through thick and thin, through morass and deep water, and up and down banks so steep that a man could fall down but neither ride nor walk!*[202]

Globe Creek, Blowing Rock, and Boone

The scenery around the route of their journey, once they had arrived in the head watershed of the Catawba River, was one of mountain after mountain after mountain. The Diary states the party missed the Mulberry Gap, between Mulberry Creek of the

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[197] Fries, *Records*, p. 30. To say 'pathless' was not strictly true, but it was close enough: from here there really were no real *roads*.

[198] This particular tract was on the Little River, between the Catawba River at the Quaker Meadows (across the river from the present Morganton) and the Brushy Mountains.

[199] The Brethren had stayed with Captain Sennett, in Granville County, while they were ill with malaria.

[200] The name Atkins refers to the Atkin or Yadkin River--hence, this road was the Trading Path.

[201] Fries, *Records*, pp. 46-47. John Rhode and John Perkin later helped survey the Wachovia Tract for the Brethren, as two of the chain carriers; hence, it seems that Bishop Spangenberg was right in his assessment of John Perkin.

[183]Fries, *Records*, p. 51.

Johns River, a tributary of the Catawba, and the Yadkin,[203] and traversed the Globe Creek Valley to its head at present Blowing Rock:

> *A hunter, whom we had taken to show us the way, and who once knew the path to the Atkin, missed the trail, and led us into a place from where there was no way out except by climbing an indescribably steep mountain.*[204]

The terrain of Globe Creek Valley is indeed beautiful, but not to people intending to travel anywhere else. It is still very rough for cars on the north end of the valley, driving up the slopes of the mountain, and one cannot but sympathize with men on horseback, who would have had virtually an insurmountable barrier before them, horses of course being almost unable to traverse the steep and wooded ground, and naturally with no grass to eat.

The next day they came to creek valleys with banks choked with laurel, and beds blocked by beaver dams.[205] In deciding to leave the ravines so blocked, they had steep banks even men had a hard time climbing, not to even speak of the horses, but they did come in a short while to the top of the mountain:

> *We changed our course, and leaving the ravine went up on the mountain, and there in a chestnut grove the Lord showed us a good spring, and forage for our horses. He also sent us two deer in our necessity, which were most welcome.*[206]

Locating this spring, it seems to me, is one of the most ironic occurences on this entire surveying journey. Had they only known it, they could have followed the stream running from this spring straight to the Mulberry Fields, for this spring had to have been the headwater of the Yadkin River, now under a catch basin in the parking lot of the Green Park Inn in Blowing Rock, at this spot in the extreme northern part of present Caldwell County, only a few feet from Watauga County.

While they thanked the Lord for delivering them--Who had, as it turned out, delivered them only temporarily--their troubles were far from over. It was still very rough traveling from there to the meadow that Boone is now built on, as anyone who has driven U. S. Highway 321 north from Blowing Rock will know very well, the surveying party of course not having even a path to follow, not to even mention a paved, four-lane highway:

> *Next day we went on, and came to a creek, so full of rocks that we could not follow it, and with banks so steep that a horse could not climb them, and scarcely a man. We ate a little, but our horses had nothing, absolutely nothing, and that distressed us. Presently one of our hunters, who had been up on the mountain, returned with*

[203]There were several Mulberry Creeks; this one was in Caldwell County, the trail running up the creek to its head, thence to the Yadkin near the present Patterson. Another Mulberry Creek was at North Wilkesboro. The original name of North Wilkesboro was Mulberry Fields, a name still reflected in the nearby community of Mulberry.

[204] Fries, *Records*, p. 55. The top of that mountain is now the town of Blowing Rock.

[205] Fries, *Records*, pp. 55-56.

[206]Fries, *Records*, p. 56.

the report that he had seen a meadow, so we cut our way through the bushes to it, to the delight of men and horses.[207]

At this next camp, near the junction of the East Prong of the New River (formerly called Meat Camp Creek) with the Middle Prong, the two of which merge to form the South Fork of the New, and Winkler's Creek, now within the city limits of Boone, a sudden winter storm almost killed them:

We put up our tent, but had barely finished when there came such a wind storm that we could hardly stand against it. I think I have never felt a winter wind so strong and so cold. The ground was covered with snow; water froze beside the fire. Then our men lost heart! What should we do? Our horses would die, and we with them.[208]

The only place anywhere near the only possible route of the surveying party was at the junction of these three creeks, now occupied by a small park with a walking track around it. The National Guard Armory is to its north, Lowe's Home Improvement Center to its west, and the Moose Club to its south:

The next day the sun came out, and the days were warmer, though the nights still very cold. . .Three creeks unite in a river that flows into the Ohio, and with the Ohio into the Mississippi.[209]

Three Forks Baptist Church, of course named for this junction of the three creeks, stands about a mile or so north of it on U. S. Highway 421, within sight of the South Fork New River.

The Lewis Fork, William Owen, and the Mulberry Fields

They followed the New River, as it later proved to be, for several miles into the wilderness, probably to the area of present Fleetwood, Ashe County:

We crossed only dry mountains and dry valleys, and when for several days we followed the river in the hope that it would lead us out we found ourselves only deeper in the wilderness, for the river ran now north, now south, now east, now west, in short to all points of the compass![210]

Finally following the Bishop's compass toward the southeast, they reached the head of the Lewis Fork of the Yadkin River, near present Deep Gap on Highway 421 at the junction of Watauga, Ashe, and Wilkes Counties, and because they came out on the

[207] Fries, *Records*, p. 56. The meadow is now the site of Boone, Watauga County, N. C. A street on the southwest side of Boone is called Winkler's Meadow Court, lending some credence to the idea of that being the true site of the Bishop's camp. Most of Boone, though, is in the bottom land of several creeks, and seemingly all of it in a cleared meadow at that time. I tend to believe they camped near the three forks, though with no proof either way.

[208] Fries, *Records*, p.56.

[209] Fries, *Records*, p. 56.

[210] Fries, *Records*, p. 57.

east side of the mountains, realized they had previously been on the New River. Following the Lewis Fork down to its junction with the South Fork of the Yadkin some five miles west of the Mulberry Fields, near Wilkesboro, at a spot now drowned by Kerr Scott Lake,[211] they surveyed the first of the two Mulberry Fields tracts, which measured 3944 acres, on 15-17 December 1752,[212] near a location that Daniel Boone later built a cabin.[213] Traveling down the river after that survey, they came to the home of William Owen, a settler on one of Morgan Bryant's tracts near the Mulberry Fields.[214] They also took up another tract here, one on which Wilkesboro now stands, of 4933 acres. This Lower Tract was also crossed by Moravian Creek (Moravian Falls is on this creek south of Wilkesboro), as well as Montgomery Creek and the mouth of the Reddies River. The history of these two tracts is fascinating reading, involving many well-known North Carolina historical figures, including Hugh Montgomery of Salisbury (for whom Montgomery Creek on the north bank of the Yadkin was obviously named) and General William Lenoir of Wilkes County, whose history is connected significantly with the Wagon Road in many ways, and therefore is presented in greater detail later in this book. The reader is hereby also advised to read "Records of the Moravians, Volume 3", for the full story.[215]

William Owen and the Wachovia Tract

Owen provided the party with food, but his cabin was too small to hold them.[216] When told of their purpose at the Mulberry Fields, he told them of a piece of land near his landlord Morgan Bryant that he thought would just fill their bill,[217] and after they finished surveying the Lower Tract on 22 December 1752, they made their way down the Yadkin accompanied by William Owen, Jr.,[218] and discovered the Tract in *the three forks of Muddy Creek* on the 27th.[219] In their subsequent survey they found that the tract was everything they had been seeking. In his diary, Bishop Spangenberg wrote that, *The land on which we are now encamped seems to me to have been reserved by the Lord for the Brethren*, as they surveyed the Tract on 8 January 1753.[220]

[211] Information obtained by Internet from Arlie Church of Mooresville, a former resident of the Lewis Fork area.

[212] Re-survey map of the tract made 15-16 April 1799, printed in Fries, *Records III*, facing page 1414.

[213] Information obtained by Internet from Arlie Church of Mooresville. The ruins of the Boone cabin were still standing when it was drowned by Kerr Scott Lake. Another Daniel Boone cabin still stands in Ferguson just upstream.

[214] From the upper tract's east line to the lower tract's west is about a mile, occupied by Owen's Knob south of the Yadkin. The claim was made that no road went to Mulberry Fields that early, or before 1770, the date of the road order for the Mulberry Fields Road. However, Christopher Gist lived there in 1750, and Owen in 1751: if no road or path existed, how did they get there? After 20 December 1752, and the completion of the survey of the two Mulberry Fields tracts two days later, the Bishop's next journal entry was *8 January 1753*, after arriving at Wachovia 27 December 1752. Why was nothing written until 13 days into surveying the Tract, 19 days after his last entry, considering the previous ones, generally at most 3 days apart (though once 10 days)? It's about 70 miles from Mulberry Fields to Wachovia by the Mulberry Fields Road, and about 80 miles by the road north of the river, a distance they covered in 5 days: about 14 to 16 miles per day, *and there was no road*? Also, William Owen, Jr. was a chain carrier for surveying the Tract (see n. 218, this page), so it must seem as if Owen actually guided the Bishop to Wachovia, and obviously by the Mulberry Fields Road, *the access road to his landlord Morgan Bryant.*

[215] Fries, *Records III*, pp. 1413-19.

[216] Fries, *Records*, p. 58.

[217] Fries, *Records*, p. 58.

[218] Known from his name having been on some of the plat maps of Wachovia as one of the chain carriers.

[205] Fries, *Records*, p. 59.

[220] Fries, *Records*, p. 59.

Bishop Spangenburg, William Churton, and the survey of Wachovia

The Bishop's journal is filled with wonder that such a tract existed in an unimproved and even ungranted state in North Carolina. Bishop Spangenberg wrote:

> *This tract lies particularly well. It has countless springs, and numerous fine creeks; as many mills as desired can be built [RKS-due of course to the topography]. There is much beautiful meadow land, and water can be led to other pieces which are not quite so low. There is good pasturage for cattle, and the canes growing along the creeks will help out for a couple of winters until the meadows are in shape. . On part of the land the hunters have ruined the timber by fire, but this is no disadvantage, for a wise farmer will cultivate this part first, as it is already cleared, and will so spare the fine woodland. . .Everybody who knows the country says that this is the only place where we could find so much good land together, and decidedly the best land yet vacant. Our impression is the same. . [This is tract on] Carguels Creek, and is richest in water of any place I have seen, and well fitted for cattle raising. Why should we not call it WACHAU, and so renew that name?*[221]

This is only a small sampling of what the Bishop wrote concerning what he thought of as very nearly perfect for the Moravians' purposes. Among the many other things he wrote about was the possible locations for the future towns on the Tract--one of which, intriguingly, was where Salem was actually built some thirteen years later--and its general resemblance to the ancestral lands of Count Zinzendorf in western Austria, called *Die Wachau*--pronounced Vak'-ow; *Wach* meaning brook, *Au* or *Aue* meaning meadow--thus explaining his suggestion for the Tract's name. That name was given to the Tract in September 1754, and is retained today in its Latin equivalent of *Wachovia.*

Heinrich Antes' ledger and William Haltham

Another diary--of sorts--for this trip was the financial ledger of Heinrich Antes, who recorded every farthing that the Brethren spent, and who they paid for their services. One entry was for a *Mr. Altem*, to whom was paid 2 Pounds, 15 Shillings, 8 pence, probably for a meal, temporary lodging, and employment as one of the chain carriers for the survey of the Tract,[222] a point of some significance to this inquiry, which will be examined later in the chapter. William Haltham was a resident of the Town Fork Settlement, in what is now southern Stokes and northern Forsyth counties, centered on Germanton and Walnut Cove, and in time became a staunch friend of the Moravians, and very consequential to the settlement of Wachovia. Much more shall be written of him later in this chapter.

[221] Fries, *Records*, pp. 59, 62. Carguels Creek was variously called Gargals, Gargales, Dorothea, and the North Fork, and is now called Muddy Creek. Who the Carguel was that is referred to here, as the namesake for the creek, this author does not know, but it suggests that someone of whom we now have no knowledge was the first settler or visitant of the area, and either discovered or lived near the creek. Also, at that time, the term creek often meant the entire creek system. The Muddy Creek watershed covers more than half of present Forsyth County, with portions of it also in Stokes and Davidson.

[222] Fries, *Records II*, p. 520; also, see some of the plats for the Tract for evidence of his use as a sworn chain carrier; the maps are preserved by the Moravian Archives in Winston-Salem.

The Wachovia Tract is probably the most thoroughly documented piece of property of the 18th century in North Carolina, documentation that is virtually indispensible to those researching present Forsyth County, which probably wouldn't exist today without the prior existence of the Wachovia Tract. This is of course due to the fact that the Moravians were sticklers for accuracy, and wrote virtually everything down, including political information, social commentary, land use planning, the plants and animals of the area, what structures were built and where, personal gossip, the oversight of the Moravian Congregation Board, music, their everyday religious activities, the weather, and even what they ate on a day-to-day basis. In order to understand the history of Forsyth County, one must understand the part played by the Moravians, in a history that is detailed in perhaps a million pages of diaries, journals, maps, and memorabilia, a considerable portion of it in medieval German and never translated,[223] preserved by the Archives of the Moravian Church, Southern Province, in Winston-Salem. A very small portion of this vast documentation fills the eleven volume *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina*, translated and edited by the late Adelaide L. Fries and others, a set to be joined by a Volume Twelve in the spring of 1999, by present archivist Daniel Crews.

Francis Corbin, James Carter, and Edward Sweeting

At the same time as the Spangenberg party was discovering the virtual perfection of the Tract for their purposes, Edward Sweeting was having his land on (South Fork) Muddy Creek, approximately one mile north of the Forsyth-Davidson county line, arranged to be surveyed by James Carter, who a few years later became the second County Clerk for Rowan County. Unfortunately for Sweeting, however, this area was already being surveyed for the Moravians. Francis Corbin's letter to Carter was dated 7 January 1753, at the same time Churton was surveying the eastern border of Wachovia, a fact probably unknown to Carter, Corbin, or Sweeting (see Map # 2 in the map section). Intriguingly, both Corbin's letter and the grant mention a *waggon ford* on South Fork Creek, very significant in connection with two facts concerning the Wagon Road, one examined in this chapter, and one in the next.

The Bishop's Diary and future Roads to Wachovia

That plat map for Sweeting is obviously of great signifcance to this inquiry. Another thing one must take into account is Bishop Spangenberg's mention of two roads in his Journal concerning the Tract:

> *It lies in Anson County, about ten miles from the Atkin, on the upper road to Pennsylvania, some twenty miles from the Virginia line. A road is being built from here to a Landing, to which goods can be brought in boats from Cape Fear, and then be hauled further into the country. It is said to be about 150 miles to this Landing,*

[223] Conversation of the author with Mo Hartley, who said it would take ten lifetimes to go through the entire Archives; I think it would take more, because the Moravian Churches of the area continually add to it.

350 miles to Edenton, and 19 miles to the nearest mill.[224]

It seems logical to assume that these notes in the Journal actually inspired the Moravians to later cut roads to the places mentioned here, especially Abraham Cresson's mill, 19 miles from Bethabara in present Yadkin County.[225] However, while the later Moravian maps depict these roads, William Churton's survey maps of Wachovia do not. These 19 plat maps show the boundaries of the Tract accurately, and its creeks with only some minor inaccuracies, but depicts no road or footpath at all, either for wagons or anything else, as can be seen on the reproduction of the map, # 3 in the map section.

Churton and Daniel Weldon, as noted, had surveyed the North Carolina portions for the Fry-Jefferson map in 1749, a map published by Thomas Jeffries in 1751. The Wagon Road is not shown on that original map, and neither is the Wachovia Tract, application for it only being made in December of that year, after the map was published. Thus both official surveys for the area confirm that there was no road to the Wachovia Tract. This also does not mention that this was precisely the reason for the Bishop's surveying party in late 1752.

The history of the Wachovia Tract, of course, does not end there, and the documented lack of a road at this time serves to illuminate two things of a slightly later date that require further examination, the one having to do with the settlement of the Tract and some of the claims concerning the Wagon Road, the other with the Fry-Jefferson Map.

The Brethren and the settlement journey to North Carolina

After Bishop Spangenberg and the surveying company returned to Bethlehem with the fruits of their exploration, church authorities in Pennsylvania selected twelve men to return to Wachovia and establish the first temporary settlement. The selection of these men on the part of the authorities was meant to be complete. All of them had experience in something that would aid them in establishing a settlement, skills such as tailor, minister, carpenter, gardener, and doctor, all of which were in short supply and therefore great demand in that time and place. One skill they did not have among them, however, was that of a hunter, proving that even the best laid plans of the most meticulous planners have at least one flaw:

Nov. 14 [1753]. . . Some Brethren went hunting, but came back empty-handed.[226]

Nov. 20th. . .At noon Br. Hermanus returned, bringing the cornmeal and meat he had bought from Mr. Altem. Br. Feldhausen went hunting.[227]

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[224] Fries, *Records*, p. 59. The Upper Road did not actually reach Wachovia at the time, and it was 140 miles to the Cape Fear near the present Fayetteville, the head of navigation on that river then.

[225] Hughes, Fred, *North Carolina Historical Documentation, Yadkin County*, Jamestown, The Custom House, n.d.

[226] Fries, *Diary*, p. 353. It seems interesting, completely understandable, and very charitable, that Rev. Grube did not mention anyone's name here.

[227] Fries, *Records*, p. 80.

Nov. 21st. . .Br. Feldhausen also returned. He had not lost his way, but night had overtaken him. . .Toward evening Br. Hermanus came back, having shot the first deer on our land.[228]

Nov. 22nd. . .Loesch and Feldhausen went hunting, but returned empty-handed.[229]

Probably the most important of the settlers was Hans Martin Kalberlahn (1722-1759), the first physician for Wachovia, and later the first husband of Anna Catherina Antes, about whom Dr. Adelaide Fries wrote so much in *The Road To Salem*. His services were probably requested more than any other in the area, requiring travel as far as Virginia to the north, the Uwharrie River to the southeast, and Davie County to the southwest:

Dec. 22nd [1753]. In the afternoon an Irishman arrived, seeking counsel of Br. Kalberlahn.[230]

Jan. 30 [1754]. About nine o'clock the Brethren brought in the horses; Br. Kalberlahn prepared for his journey and set out to see the patient on the Meho, accompanied by Br. Herman.[231]

April 18. It was very cold again last night, and blossoms and young plants were somewhat hurt. Br. Kalberlahn started to the Jubari,[232] *and will be away several days.*[233]

Bernhard Adam Grube (1715-1808) was the first Christian minister for the Wachovia settlement, and probably the diarist for the journey, a minister obviously having been well educated. He also was in demand by many in the area. Gottlob Koenigsderfer and Nathanael Seidel were leaders[234] of the church in Bethlehem who changed their minds about returning home at Harris' Ferry--Harrisburg--instead returning home after about a month in Wachovia. Jacob Loesch (1722-1782) was yet another Moravian minister, as well as the Vorsteher (vorsh'-ta-er) or business manager, who was entrusted with all practical matters for the settlement. Jacob's younger brother Herman (1726-1791), who as noted previously had accompanied Bishop Spangenburg on the exploratory and surveying journey ten months before, was sent as the guide to the Tract. Johann Lischer was a farmer and the designated courier for the Brethren

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[228] Fries, *Records*, p. 81. Note that it had taken seven days from the first entry to achieve this feat.

[229] Fries, *Records*, p. 81. This lament was voiced several times in succeeding passages.

[230] Fries, *Records*, p. 85.

[231] Fries, *Records*, p. 93. 'Meho' was pronounced and is now spelled Mayo. One must always note the 'Germanisms' in what Rev. Grube wrote, as well as several other Diarists over the ensuing years.

[232] The 'Jubari' is obviously the Uwharrie River, and considering that they wrote at that time only in German, it was probably pronounced the same. The name was also variously spelled Heighwarrie, Uharrie, and others.

[233] Fries, *Records*, p. 101.

[234] The real term used here was *Chor Junger*, denoting the leader of a choir, or one of the nine divisions of a Moravian congregation, divided by age, sex, and marital status.

between Bethabara and Bethlehem.[235] The journey started in Bethlehem on the morning of 8 October 1753 and arrived in Wachovia the following 17 November, an approximately 430 mile journey in 40 days.[236]

The "Bad Road"

The people up and down the Road gave it many names, probably determined by where they were and where they were going at the time, but the most common contemporary name for the Great Wagon Road was the *Bad Road*, an epithet that the Brethren discovered the truth of the hard way.[237] Many episodes are recorded in the Moravian Diaries concerning this trip, including this of interest to both then and now:

> *The Brn. Gottlob and Haberland rejoined us there. We then drove on, soon came to water again, and had four miles to Jost Haid's mill, setting up our tent just beyond.*[238]

The *water* spoken of here was Abram's Creek, near Winchester, Virginia, a mile-and-a-half south of the town on the Wagon Road. *Jost Haid* was obviously Jost Hite, who was at that time embroiled in his lawsuit against Lord Thomas Fairfax over the right to give and grant property already granted to others, obviously of significance to the property rights movement of today, as stated in the last chapter. The original rock walls of the Hite mill, with a later roof, still stand in the town of Bartonsville, five-and-a-half miles south of Winchester, on Opequon Creek, on the west side of U. S. Highway 11, across the highway from the ruins of Jost Hite's house.

There were also two entries here of later historical interest. The first was visiting a tavern in the southern part of the Valley operated by a man named 'Severe':

> *We went a mile and a half further to a Tavern keeper named Severe and inquired about our way, but could get no definite information.*[239]

This tavern keeper was Valentine Sevier, Sr., father of John, Valentine, Jr., and Robert Sevier, all three of whom participated in the Battle of King's Mountain, 7 October 1780, Robert being mortally wounded there. John Sevier later became the first governor of Tennessee in 1796, and Valentine Sevier, Jr., the founder of Clarksville, Tennessee.[240] The Moravians were sticklers for both accuracy and complete chronicling, and sometimes delightfully and unexpectedly, recorded much in their Diaries of current or later historical interest and significance, such as this.

The second episode was traveling across the *Narrow Passage*, now about two and

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[235] Fries, *Records*, pp. 73-74.

[236] Fries, *Diary* , p. 355.

[237] Fries, *Diary*, p. 335.

[238] Fries, *Diary*, p. 334.

[239] Fries, *Diary*, p. 337. The tavern was six miles south of New Market, surveyed by Sevier in 1773 before leaving for the future Tennessee. An old tavern stands on Hwy. 11 at 1-81; the author doesn't know if it was the Sevier tavern.

[240] Clarksville was the site of a massacre in 1796, Valentine Sevier, Jr. being killed at that time, but not all of his family was killed: this author has met a direct descendant of Valentine, Jr.

a half miles south of Woodstock, Virginia, where all traffic had to be slow and in single file--wagons could not pass each other because of thick vegetation and deep creek valleys on each side:

> *In this neighborhood, one mile to the left of the road, there lives a man named Jacob Mueller where one can always buy oats. Then the road goes uphill for a while, and when we reached the summit we crossed the "Narrow Passage," which is so narrow that two wagons cannot pass, and there are very deep valleys on each side. In the valley on the left flows Stone Creek, and another creek in that on the right.*[241]

Much of the Diary is easily followed, with many locations mentioned in it still rather well known, making tracing the Wagon Road very easy. One such place after this was after they crossed the James River at Buchanan:

> *One mile brought us to a small creek, and another to a larger one, near which was a plantation. Then came more hills, and from the top a beautiful view, the Blue and South Mountains forming a pretty oval, their summits all covered with snow.*[242]

The Moravians were the brunt of many jokes among many people over the years, usually bitter ones, and usually extremely distant from the truth. One example of this was encountered between the oval valley and Roanoke:

> *Towards evening we met an old man whom Br. Nathanael engaged in conversation, and as we passed near his fence we asked him to sell us some turnips but he was so good as to make us a present of a nice quantity, and gave an invitation that any of our people passing this way should visit him. He had heard perhaps a hundred lies about the Brethren,--that we were "bearded people," that we enjoined celibacy, etc.--and now learning the truth the old man rejoiced, and took a friendly leave of us.*[243]

This fact of the Moravians' existence had also been encountered by Schnell and Hussey as they traversed the southern colonies:

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[241] Fries, *Diary*, p. 336. The *Inn at Narrow Passage*, the oldest section built at least as early as 1750, and possibly as early as 1740, still stands two miles south of Woodstock on U. S. Highway 11: *The Inn at Narrow Passage*, tourist pamphlet, Woodstock, Va., n.d. Intriguingly, the Moravians did not mention an inn but do mention a house--that of Jacob Mueller--near that location in their Diary entries of 1753. Jacob Mueller (Miller) founded the town of Woodstock, originally called Muellerstock. The *Stone Creek* mentioned in this passage is now called Stony Creek, and is actually three miles south of the Inn at present Edinburgh; to the east (or left) of the Wagon Road is actually the North Fork of the Shenandoah River, which I can only suppose the Moravians simply thought of as the lower reaches of the creek they later crossed. The road crosses Narrow Passage Creek just below a deep creek cutting, and just above its mouth on the river. Thick vegetation on the steep hillsides to the right of the road, and the river to the left, made for a very *Narrow Passage*. Much of this information was obtained from Ed and Ellen Markel, present owners of the Inn at Narrow Passage.

[242] Fries, *Diary*, p. 343. This widening of the Great Valley is about halfway between Buchanan and Fincastle, and can be seen from Highway 11.

[243] Fries, *Diary*, pp. 343-44.

Their host, a Huguenot named Brunet, told them of the "pitiable circumstances" of the Germanic ministers and people there[244] *and of evil reports which had been circulated of Count Zinzendorf and the Moravians. Schnell attributed this to a book by the Presbyterian minister, Gilbert Tennent, who had preached three sermons in New York the year before on "The Necessity of Holding Fast the Truth. . .Relating to Errors lately vented by some Moravians in those parts."*

Schnell was also distressed to learn that some German settlers in South Carolina had been turned against the Moravians by a letter which the Reverend Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, an early Lutheran in Pennsylvania, had written to South Carolina. Schnell was indignant. "In it many lies were told about our Brethren and many wicked things were falsely reported about them," he wrote. "This has stirred up the people against us." [245]

From what the Brethren wrote on this journey, many places along their route are very easily located. Another such place along the route of the Road is in the present city of Roanoke:

Two miles further we came to a little creek, and in two miles more to another which was full of stones,[246] *and we had much difficulty in getting up the bank. Another mile brought us to a large Buffalo Lick, where formerly many buffalo gathered because the marsh was rich in salt.*[247]

The Roanoke Civic Center now stands on the site of the salt lick, for which Roanoke was originally named, about a half-mile north of the Staunton or Roanoke River:

Nov. 2. We rose early, having slept little because the smoke troubled us all night. At daybreak we crossed the Runoke, which was very low, and not quite so large as the Lecha, but full of slippery stones; and in high water it runs half a mile over the banks. We had much difficulty in getting our sick horses across. A quarter of a mile beyond we came to Evens' mill, where our road turned to the left and became very narrow. A mile further we came to a steep hill, and the road sloped badly. We soon stuck in a ditch, and were in danger of breaking our axle. In another mile a rather high hill rose before us, and we had to unload half our things and carry them up on our backs, and even then we could hardly get the wagon up.[248]

Yet another adventure they suffered through was where a northbound traveler on the Wagon Road told them of a house to the south of Evans' house and mill on the top of a large hill. By certain implications in the Diary, the large hill was obviously a southern

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[244] In Charleston, South Carolina.

[245] Rouse, *Road*, pp. 40-41.

[246] Probably Tinker Creek, on the northeast side of Roanoke.

[247] Fries, *Diary*, p. 344.

[248] Information obtained at *The Center in the Square*, Roanoke, Va.; Hildebrand, J. R., *Historical Map of Roanoke County*, Roanoke Historical Society, 1970. Daniel Evans' house and mill stood where Roanoke Memorial Hospital does now. The *high hill* was the western shoulder of Roanoke Mountain, across which the Franklin Road still travels.

shoulder of Roanoke Mountain: a *large hill* indeed. The house, which they hoped to get to in the pouring rain at the time, unfortunately did not exist, and they were required to try to keep dry in only a tent in the driving rain, and clearly not succeeding at all:

> *Then we had a mile and a half of good road, and stopped for lunch by a creek. It looked much like rain and there was a large hill before us. We asked a man that we met whether we could get across the hill today and he said "Yes, some one lived on the top, and we could spend the night there." We believed him and drove to the foot of the hill, crossing a large creek. We tried to climb the hill but it was impossible, the hill being too steep. So we decided to unload and carry the things up the hill. . .Half way up it began to rain and was hard on us and our horses, but we hoped on the top to find the house of which the man had told us. The time seemed long to us and when we reached the summit neither house nor water was to be found. There was nothing to do but go on down the mountain in the darkness and heavy rain.* [249]

They also wrote of their later visit to Benjamin Rea, which they spelled *Reh*, first resident of present Boone's Mill, in the Maggotty Creek Gap, paired with the Staunton Gap in providing a way through the Blue Ridge:

> *In the afternoon we crossed Maggedi Creek, near which lives Benjamin Reh, an old man of about 90 years, and his wife who is nearly a hundred. Both are quite bright and active, gave us milk to drink, and were very friendly.*[250]

A table owned by Rea, and probably seen by the Moravians on this journey, is now the oldest piece of furniture in Franklin County, Virginia, which I have been very privileged to see, and is owned, ironically, by Dr. Francis Amos, an investigator of the Wagon Road in Franklin County, and to whom I am greatly indebted for the knowledge concerning the Wagon Road in the area from Roanoke through Franklin County and into Henry County.

It is also clear from this and other accounts that the Wagon Road, at various places, was only a path, and not a very good path at that, and that it was actually still in the process of being cut over considerable stretches of terrain. One such place was south of Boone's Mill, and demonstrates how this one particular stretch of road, now accorded as part of the Wagon Road, came to be:

> *Nov. 5. We rose early and went on our way. Had several miles of good road along the ridge. When we had driven five miles we came to the house of Mr. Robert Kohl, Justice of the Peace, from whom we bought some corn. He is a pleasant man, and expressed regrets that he did not know we were coming, for he would gladly have met us and led us by a better and nearer way so that we could have escaped the*

[249] Fries, *Diary*, pp. 345-346. Had the Moravians used a little circumspection they would have known that there was no house on top of a mountain: *We tried to climb the hill but it was impossible, the hill being too steep.* And to say that they didn't find any water was not strictly true: it was coming down around them in bucketfuls.

[250] Fries, *Diary*, pp. 346-347. The location of Benjamin Rea is misplaced on *A Settlement Map of Franklin County, Virginia*, Franklin County Historical Society, 1976.

hills and mountains. The road was indeed not entirely cleared, but there was so many of us that we could have gotten through with little trouble. He said he would see to it that this road was opened at once.[251]

Many of the sights seen by the Moravians on their journey south, it seems to me, are virtually the same today, especially in Franklin County, due to the fact that much of the old road has never been paved over, but is presently a farm road at most, and sometimes not even used as that. The wish of many historical preservationists, such as myself, is that such historical artifacts, like these remains of the Wagon Road, had remained visible in more developed counties, but perhaps that is asking too much. The land they traversed in this county was very rough, as is indeed the case to this day, exceeded by very few other places. What is now Franklin County was also written about quite often in the Diaries. The ford of the Blackwater River, for instance, near the present Dugwell northwest of Rocky Mount, one of the loveliest fords I've seen on any creek or river, seems to have not changed at all since the Moravian's day.

One thing is certain, travelers of the day, considering the fact that 'roads' were hardly worthy of the name, made many detours to get where they were going. One of the mistakes the Brethren made, completely understandable at that time and in that terrain, was getting turned off the road:

Then the road turned to the left up the mountain but we missed it and came more to the right to an old mill-race at Ringfros Mill, kept to the left of it and turned up the mountain again and regained our proper road. [252]

Renfrow's Mill was near the junction of the north and south branches of the Blackwater River, not far from where Fort Blackwater was built not very long after the Brethren had passed. Colonel George Washington was overall commander of it and other forts in the Virginia backcountry, as stated in the previous chapter.[253] The terrain of the area is such that one can very easily imagine the difficulties the Moravian Brethren (and anyone else using that *Bad Road*) had to have encountered. When one sees the *mountain they turned up again*, within sight of where the mill once stood, one is prompted to wonder how they made it through as easily as they did. The documented fact that in later years they traveled the road east of the mountains, as Bishop Spangenberg had returning from the surveying journey, and taking no more than two weeks doing so between Bethlehem and Wachovia, I do not find surprising in the least.

A somewhat later passage in the Diary, written on 7 November, describes what can only be called an extremely joyful incident in what is clearly present Henry County:

Br. Losch went ahead to look over the road. We came at once to a very steep little

[251] Fries, *Diary*, p. 347. This new road is now known as "Cole's Road" after Robert Cole and his family; it runs north to south about five miles west of Rocky Mount, Franklin County.

[252] Fries, *Diary*, p. 347.

[253] Account by Dr. Francis Amos; Virginia State Historical Marker, U. S. Highway 220, Franklin County. See also the Introduction to this volume.

hill, and then there was a long ascent. From the top we saw the Pilot Mountain in North Carolina, and rejoiced to think that we would soon see the boundary of Carolina and set foot in our own dear land.[254]

The land in the area remained as rough as in Franklin County, and their joy at seeing something near the end of their journey, especially such a significant signpost for travelers as Pilot Mountain, which they would circle some twenty miles to its east and south, would have been great indeed.

The next day's entry, yet another confirmation for the kind of road they were on, is very significant to this inquiry:

Going down we locked two wheels, hung a tree on behind, and made the descent safely. People had told us that this hill was most dangerous, and that we would scarcely be able to cross it, for Margan Bryand[255] *the first to travel this way, had to take the wheels off his wagon and carry it piecemeal to the top, and had been three months on the journey from the Shanidore [Shenandoah] to the Etkin [Yadkin].*[256]

The Wagon Road was at least partially known as "Bryant's Road", because of the Bryant family cutting a major portion of it on their way south. The partial reason--and probably the main one--for Morgan Bryant's removal of his family and friends from the northern part of the Shenandoah Valley and down such an inadequate and even partially uncut path to North Carolina has of course been noted previously. Again, the appellation *Bad Road* seems completely inadequate to describe it.

Much more was written about this journey, of which this book can only hit the high spots. On 11 November, when the Brethren were just south of the Hickey Store near present Martinsville, they:

. . . met a man from North Carolina, who lives near our land. He told us that it is generally known that we will soon arrive, that he had heard that we had two Ministers with us, which was a good thing, for the people lived like wild men, never hearing of God or His Word. He was also glad that we had a Doctor in the company.[257]

Most historical researchers, including especially researchers from the government, it seems to me, have never discovered this passage, or realized its applicability to this dicussion. This phrase, *generally known that we will soon arrive*, is very significant in terms of deciphering the probable reason for cutting a certain section of the Wagon Road, a reason to be discussed shortly.

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[254] Fries, *Diary*, p. 349.

[255] Morgan Bryant, Sr., patriarch of the Bryant clan, founder of the Shenandoah's Ross-Bryant Grant and the Bryant's Settlement of the Yadkin valley, grandfather-in-law of Daniel Boone.

[256] Fries, *Diary*, p. 350. The exact location of this hill is hard to decipher, many such hills existing on this route in present Henry County. Also, it could be one of several different routes through the county, due to the uncertainty of exactly where the road actually was: the road at the time had been used for at most six years in that area.

[257] Fries, *Diary*, p. 351.

Anticipation of Arrival in Wachovia: The Town Fork Settlement

Another extremely significant passage in the Moravian Diaries concerning this party and the road they took was written from 14-17 November 1753, as they were approaching the Town Fork Settlement and Wachovia:

> *Nov. 14 - We went very early to see whether we could cross the river [the Dan, at Davis Ford], but it had risen two feet and was running rapidly. So we had to wait and meanwhile worked on the approach, which was very steep. . .Br. Jacob Loesch crossed the river in the canoe, and went on eleven miles to Mr. Altem to order provisions.*
>
> *Nov. 15 -Several Brethren went hunting, but secured nothing. The Brn. Gottlob and Nathanael crossed the river in the canoe with the Brn. [Joseph] Halberland and Hermanus Loesch [Herman Lash] swimming their horses across with them. They plan to go today to Mr. Altem, who is well acquainted with our land, and find a place where we can stay. . .*
>
> *Nov. 16 - We rose early to ford the river. The bank was so steep that we hung a tree behind the wagon, fastening it in such a way that we could quickly release it when the wagon reached the water. . At four o'clock we reached Mr. Altem's. . toward evening the Brethren Gottlob, Nathanael, Loesch, etc. rejoined us, having looked about a little; six miles from the edge of our land they found a little house, which a German [Hans Wagner] built last year and then abandoned. . .*
>
> *Nov. 17 - We rose early having had a cold night; it looked much like snow. Some of the Brethren went ahead with axes and grubbing hoes to clear the road and cut down the steep banks of the creeks. One mile from Altem's we crossed Down Forck Creek [Town Fork Creek, at Germanton], and came to the new road leading across our land to the Etkin [Yadkin River]. . Two miles from our land we crossed Buffler Creek [Buffalo Creek]. One mile from our land we stopped for the noon rest. . At last, at half past twelve, we reached the boundary of our land, whereat we all rejoiced. . .We drove three miles further on the new road, then turned to the left and cut a road for two and a half miles to the little house that the Brethren found yesterday.*[258]

There are several things of great interest to be noted here; first, *Mr. Altem's* farm, the location of which is one of the keys to locating the Wagon Road through both Stokes and the northern part of Forsyth. First, Rowan County Deed Book 3, pages 332 and 334 record two land grants from Lord Granville to a William Haltham [*Hal'-tm*] of 640 and 266 acres, on both sides of Town Fork Creek, both dated 14 March 1755. Since he is on record in Heinrich Antes' ledger as residing in that area in January 1753, this might possibly suggest he was a squatter, but that's not necessarily true. To bring this into proper perspective, it would take six months for a grant request to reach Lord Granville from Haltham through Francis Corbin's land office. The request for a

[258] Fries, *Diary*, pp. 354-355.

grant to the land office in Edenton had to be accompanied by an official survey map, which was also given six months to reach Corbin. In the meantime, the settler had to raise the money necessary to pay for all this--a factor to be fully discussed later in this chapter--in addition to getting the land cleared to raise his crops. For usually two years, and even on some other-than-rare occasions ten (or even longer),[259] to have passed between the actual settlement and the grant was quite commonplace:

> *Appointment of new agents helped to resolve the problem of the great lapse of time between the date of a survey and issuance of a deed. Granville had stipulated in his instructions that the grant was to be made within twelve months of the survey, but there were many excessive delays. For example, a deed was issued to David Johnson of Rowan County on March 6, 1761, for land that had been surveyed February 11, 1752. Two Rowan County grants to Marmaduke Kimbrough made March 5, 1761, were based on surveys conducted April 16, 1748. Joshua Haughton's warrant for land in Johnston County was issued November 26, 1751, but the property was not surveyed until April 30, 1761; there is no evidence that a deed was ever granted. A ten-year lapse between the date of the survey and the date of the deed was common.*[260]

This happened despite Granville's order, mentioned above, that only one year elapse for all transactions, due to his colonial agents *never* following his orders.[261]

Second, this location also confirms where the Brethren crossed the Dan River. There are only two fords on the Dan from which roads ran in the 18th century that would lead to present Germanton, both of them being depicted, at one time or another, as the crossing for the Wagon Road. One is the Davis Ford--just upstream from where Dodgetown Road crosses the river now, and sometimes called Pitzer's Ford--and Carmichael's Ford just east of Walnut Cove, near where U. S. Highway 311 crosses the river. Davis Ford is 12 miles from Germanton, Carmichael's only eight, confirming the Davis Ford as the crossing. The description of the approach to the ford matches the current topography, also. I remember vividly the first time I saw the north bank of the Dan. One can still see the steepness of the hill mentioned in this passage, with the road running through it, a section now called Davis Chapel Road, on the north side of the ford to this day, and experience exactly what the Brethren did when they first saw it. This extreme steepness of the land to the north of the river bank is not to be found at Carmichael's Ford.

As can also be quickly calculated from the account, the round trip journey from the Dan to Wagner's cabin and back to Haltham's was approximately 31 miles--11 from the Davis Ford on the Dan to Haltham's, 1 from there to Town Fork Creek, 1 to Buffalo Creek, 2 more to the border of Wachovia, 6 to the Wagner cabin, and therefore 10 back to Haltham's. This was quite a distance to cover in two days and with virtually no time to look for a place to stay, considering their average of only ten miles a day from

[259] For instance, John Douthit arrived in present Clemmons in 1751, according to family traditions, but got no land grant until 1762, according to records in both Salisbury and Raleigh.

[260] Mitchell, *Granville*, p. 116

[261] Mitchell, *Granville*, p. 128.

Pennsylvania south: this was over half again as much, even though they probably didn't take their wagon with them, but traveled on horseback and on foot. It must logically then be said that William Haltham had to have known Hans Wagner, and known, of course, that he had abandoned his cabin, due to the fact that they *knew we* [the Moravians] *would soon arrive*.

Also, it is easy to discover yet another reason why William Haltham was *well acquainted with our land.* As previously noted, he was one of William Churton's sworn chain carriers for the survey of the Tract; very few people, and perhaps none, would have had a better knowledge of the Wachovia Tract than William Haltham; so obviously, the previous point, that Haltham knew Wagner, is demonstrated by this to be a virtual certainty. Indeed, it was in all probability Haltham who told Wagner that the land he had settled on had already been surveyed for the Moravians, having indeed aided in surveying the Tract, and therefore that Wagner could get no land grant at that spot, even if he had yet tried.

Another rather intriguing factor in this discussion is that Hans Wagner was a miller, demonstrated to have been so by a descendent of his,[262] as well as by the Moravian Diaries at a point to be discussed shortly, who would naturally have looked for a good site for a mill close to where he would have settled.The remains of a mill are also on a creek in his subsequent property on the Yadkin County side of the Donnaha Ford, just north of where Highway 67 crosses the Yadkin, but whether it was his or one from a later time, this author does not know.[263] It also seems logical to assume that Wagner would have known that the closest mill to Wachovia was 19 miles away, and I can only suppose had intended to remedy the situation, before losing the land to the Moravians. The fact that Wagner had built his cabin only a little more than a half-mile from where the Moravians actually built the Bethabara Mill seems to me somewhat more than coincidental.

Friends of the Moravians

Haltham, Banner, Wagner, and Gist

Three people from the Town Fork and Dan River Settlements were especial friends of the Moravian Brethren: William Haltham, Henry Banner, and Nathaniel Gist. William Haltham, according to this Diary entry, lived about a mile northeast of the Wagon Road's Town Fork ford.[264] Many exchanges between the Moravians and Haltham continue to be recorded there, including his virtually indispensible assistance in building the first Bethabara Fort, in 1756 during the French and Indian War. Not many weeks afterward, though, Haltham left the area because of the war, moving to Cow Heaven, South Carolina, near present Chester, Greenville, and Spartanburg. The land

[262] Rodgers, Joan S., *An Old Friend*, Winston-Salem Journal, 6 March 1992, pp. F-11, 14.

[263] Information obtained from Ron Carswell, an amateur archaeologist, who owns the site of the mill and house; hereafter called 'Carswell.'

[264] According to several people in the Germanton area, remains of either old tobacco barns or houses still exist on a wooded bluff overlooking Town Fork Creek about three-fourths of a mile from where the ford was formerly located, on what was formerly the Browder farm. Because of not wanting to trespass on someone else's land, the author has yet to see them.

he formerly owned was sold to Philip and David Davis in 1756, as is shown on a 1766 Reuter map of Wachovia.

Henry Banner

Henry Banner was one of the closest friends that the Moravians ever had, also, remaining so for well over thirty years, according to a plethora of entries in the Moravian Diaries and other supporting documents. The Diary entry of this very first day in Wachovia was the first mention they made of him and his family, even though they remained unnamed:

> *The Brn. Gottlob and Nathanael had gone ahead to the next plantation, which adjoins our land, and the people presented them with a couple of bushels of turnips.*[265]

Henry Banner and his family, because of their intimate connection with Wachovia and the Wagon Road, will be mentioned many more times in the remaining pages of this book.

Nathaniel Gist: Brother, Son, or Nephew?

Nathaniel Gist was the name of the son, brother, and nephew of Captain Christopher Gist (1706-1759), as stated the explorer and first surveyor of the Ohio River valley, and of great fame in the days leading to the French and Indian War. The geneological documentation, unfortunately, for the Gist family is rather tangled, and is extremely difficult to decipher, for instance being one that is recorded in sundry counties in six states.[266] It is a Gordian Knot I do not wish to try to unravel at the present time, it being an endeavor that would take a volume much bigger than this one to fully explore. In any case, Nathaniel Gist--either the son or nephew of Captain Christopher: which one I do not know, but probably the latter--became very well-known in the histories of three states: North Carolina, Virginia, and Tennessee, and finally died on an estate in Kentucky. The Moravian Brethren wrote quite often of Nathaniel the brother, and his younger kinsman the son, or Nathaniel, Jr. the elder Nathaniel's son, in the early days of Wachovia:

> *Dec. 20 [1753]. Toward evening Jacob Loesch returned, bringing hearty greetings from our dear Brethren. They had spent the night beyond Dan River at the home of Mr. Gest, a pleasant man, who had taken good care of them. Next day Br. Loesch went with them a little further, then turned back, calling again on Mr. Gest, from whom he purchased some cattle.*[267]

> *Feb. 28 [1754].. . Evening Mr. Guest's son came from the Etkin on a visit. He has*

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[265] Fries, *Diary*, p. 355.

[266] Captain Christopher Gist was born in Maryland, and lived in Virginia, North Carolina, the future West Virginia, and Pennsylvania. Nathaniel, Jr., his nephew, lived in Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Kentucky. The Gists seemingly most often mentioned in the Moravian Diaries were Christopher's brother and nephew.

[267] Fries, *Records*, p. 85

recently moved to this section with his brother-in-law, and lives on the land formerly occupied by the elder Owen, between the two tracts belonging to the Brethren.[268]

April 19. Br. Loesch rode to Mr. Haltem and Mr. Guest to pay bills. The other Brethren began to cut wood for a new fence; also began to tan cow hides.[269]

April 24. It is very warm. Mr. Guest came from Dan River on a visit. He is our good friend, and has helped us in many ways. At the last Court he was elected a Captain (of Militia)...

April 25. Before leaving Mr. Guest asked that his son might travel part way with us, to visit an uncle who is a prominent man in the Alleghany English Settlement [RKS-clearly Christopher Gist]. We could not refuse, though we prefer to go alone.[270]

Aug. 8 [1755]. Yesterday the Brn. Benzien and Loesch returned from a visit to Mr. Guest on Dan River, and report that everything is again uncertain.[271]

Aug. 12. Mr. Crank, his wife and two children came to see the doctor, as did also young Mr. Guest.[272]

Wachovia, the Bryant's Settlement, and the Wagon Road

Edward Hughes

Another staunch friend of the Moravians--or at least he was so in the early days of settlement--was Edward Hughes, a notable resident of the Bryant's Settlement, who was an early and long time associate of Morgan Bryant, Sr., from their days as Indian traders in Pennsylvania in the 1720's and '30's until they came south from the Shenandoah Valley in the late 1740's. Edward Hughes was, at various times through the 1750's and '60's, both a Justice of the Peace and Rowan County Sheriff, and therefore of much social and political prominence. Much was written about Hughes in both the Moravian Diaries and Rowan County Court Records, records examined in greater depth intermittently in this book. Of surpassing interest here is the fact that Edward Hughes owned the approach to the Shallow Ford on the present Forsyth County side, and hence of immense interest to the route and social history of the Wagon Road through the county:

Perhaps the most interesting of the early inhabitants of the Bryan settlement, and the only one still there at the time of the Revolution, was Edward Hughes. This extraordinary man may well have been the first one actually on the ground, for his

[268]Fries, *Records*, p. 97. This was at the Mulberry Fields, near present Wilkesboro. As stated earlier, what was probably the Christopher or Nathaniel Gist house was destroyed for the construction of Wilkes Mall, on Highway 421 north of the Yadkin River west of Wilkesboro.

[269] Fries, *Records*, p. 101.

[270] Fries, Records, p. 102.

[271] Fries, *Records*, p. 136.

[272] Fries, *Records*, p. 136.

land was advantageously situated on both sides of the trail which wound through a broad, gradually-descending meadow to the eastern end of the shallow ford. This trail was to become a road traversed by countless wagons in the years that followed. In 1753, Hughes established a tavern at the ford. It must have proven highly profitable, for he continued to live at the ford for over fifty years.[273]

March 5 [1754]. The Brethren returned from the Etkin, but had secured little meal and corn. In the evening one of our horses was sick. An elderly German appeared, saying he would like to come and live with us and rest. We told him what we thought, and he left. Some of the Brethren improved the King's Road on our land from Benner's to the Grassy Fork. Mr. Use, Justice on the Etkin, kindly arranged for us to do our share of the road work alone, which we appreciated.[274]

Aug. 30 [1755]. The usual festal services were held. Justice Hughes was here to list us for taxation, there are 22 of us registered, as Joseph Mueller is still too young.[275]

July 11 [1756]. A messenger from Justice Hughes brought us a Petition to the Governor, in the name of all the people of the county, which he asked us to sign. A conference was held and most of the Brethren were opposed to doing this, as it was a military matter.[276]

Haltham, Banner, and Wagner, and the "new road"

Moravian definitions

As is plain to see, several questions must therefore be asked about this *new road* referred to in the Diary, after they had left William Haltham's house. It should first be noted here, as well as virtually everywhere else in the Diaries, that almost every time the Moravians used the word translated *new*, they did so in the sense of *brand new* or *first*; this word therefore did not imply the existence of an *old* road that predated this *new* road.[277] Additionally, the fact that the Moravians first spoke of the *new road* just after they crossed Town Fork Creek virtually proves that the *old road*, or *upper road to Pennsylvania*, as it was referred to in Bishop Spangenberg's journal, ended at Town Fork Creek when the exploratory party came through in January 1753. This documented fact has much significance to a certain route for the road, to be explored later in this chapter.

[273] Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 34. This account by Ramsey forgot about Abraham Cresson, also an original member of the Bryant's Settlement, demonstrated to have been so from a plat map dated January 1749, less than a year after the Bryant's Settlement was founded, a plat map to be examined in Chapter Three. Cresson was also a Whig during the Revolution; it was probably on Cresson's land that the local muster ground was located.

[274] Fries, *Records*, p. 98. Mr. Use: the name would have been pronounced YOOZ, i.e., Hughes.

[275] Fries, *Records*, p. 137.

[276] Fries, *Records*, p. 170. The Moravians were granted conscientious objector status to military duty.

[277] The author knows of only one exception to this rule in the Moravian Diaries, an example to be shown later.

Financial and social matters of the backcountry

So, what was this *brand new* or *first road* that was referred to, and how did it get there? A possible hint in connection with it is in the knowledge of the man near Hickey's Store, that the Brethren would *soon arrive* in Wachovia. Obviously, since William Haltham also was *well acquainted* with the Tract, indeed having helped survey it, it seems logical to assume that he probably helped cut this *new road* for the Moravians. The record of the surveying party stopping at his house, as recorded in Heinrich Antes' ledger, can probably be described as setting up a local contact for the Brethren for when they would return some months later, as well as payment for his services already rendered in helping survey the Tract: hence the construction of the *new* section of the Wagon Road to benefit them. It can probably also be deduced that both Henry Banner and Hans Wagner aided Haltham, especially the latter, knowing that he could not now get a grant for that land, and that the Brethren would need a place to stay temporarily. The need for barter, from hard money being scarce in the backcountry, as noted, and therefore the need to be on friendly terms with one's neighbors, also would play a large part in this.

One of the first things that one discovers in connection with this is the great friendliness of the people of the Town Fork Settlement toward the Moravians, especially William Haltham and Henry Banner, and later Nathaniel Gist on the Dan River, in sharing their produce and meat with them. One must remember that the land in the Yadkin, Dan, and Catawba River valleys, at the time the Moravians arrived in late 1753, had only been settled by Europeans in appreciable numbers for at most six years, during which time, as settlers arrived at varying intervals, several acres would have to be cleared for both crops and pasture to support the new settler families and their livestock, at the same time that they would have to try to gather enough money to pay for the survey required for a grant. This was probably done by hunting wolves and panthers, the pelts of which paid a 10 shilling government bounty each,[278] but which was, unfortunately, very time-consuming, time that had to be used in clearing the land for crops in order to feed themselves. Lord Granville's requirement, probably inspired by his cultural knowledge of England but not the backcountry of North Carolina, for one year to conclude all of these transactions didn't help matters, either. This was so especially because of the paucity of hard currency in the backcountry, a situation partially caused by Lord Granville himself, as previously shown, a fact probably explaining his agents' reluctance to enforce the rule.

Geography, topography, and the "new road"

Also, from the distances recorded in the Diary, there is a choice of only one road that this *new road* can be. This track crosses Town Fork Creek east of Neatman Creek and west of present Highway 8, passes southwest through Germanton to Highway 8 south of there, running through the Henry Banner farm, thence south to Stanleyville Drive, which intersects Highway 8 at the Wachovia border. Intriguingly, that northern property line of Wachovia, laid off in 1753, is still mostly extant.

From that point it travels more or less down Stanleyville Drive southwest for about

[278] Fries, *Records*, p. 52.

two and a half miles. It then passes through Willow Creek Apartments, staying east of Willow Creek, and crossing U. S. Highway 52 at the southbound exit ramp, where the Road is still visible between the ramp and the Forsyth County Landfill access road, thence behind the Hanes-Weeks Plant toward the Grassy Fork [Grassy Creek], a total distance from Highway 8 of just over three miles.

If one *turns to the left* there, off of this *new road*, and goes by the old Beck family cemetery, through the Madison Park office complex and crosses Great Johanna Creek, now called Mill Creek; then the Little Johanna, now called Leak Fork Creek; and finally Bethabara Road just east of Bethania Station Road, the distance is just over two and a half miles, as was stated in the Diary.

Obviously, there was no road into the Tract when the Bishop's exploratory party came through, but there was when the settlers' party arrived ten months later. And yet, there are still more tantalizing clues to this mystery of the *new road*, concerning this settlers' party, and the Fry-Jefferson Map.

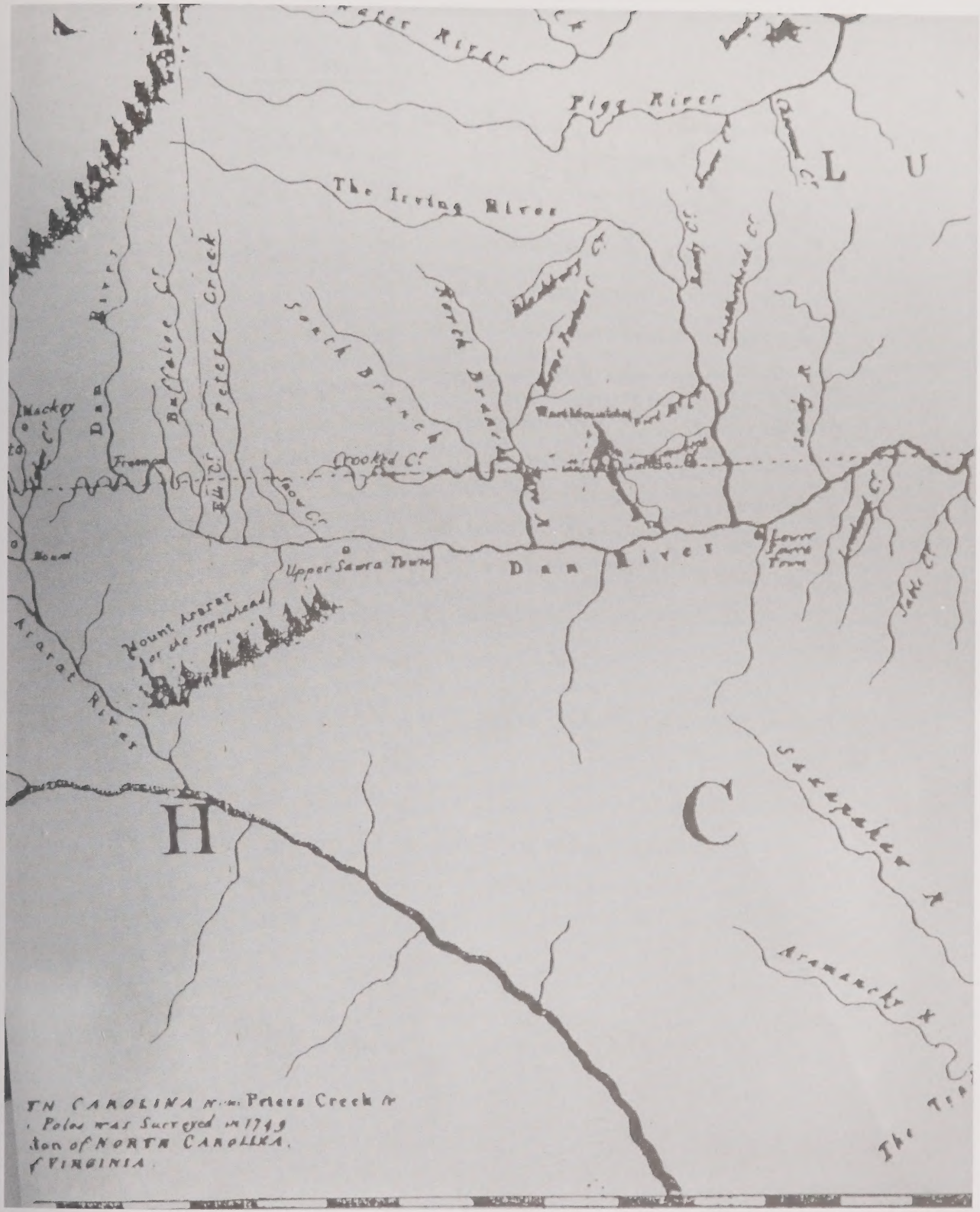
As was noted previously, there was no trace of the Wagon Road shown on William Churton's 19 original survey maps or of the Wachovia Tract itself on the 1751 Fry-Jefferson Map. By 1755, however, the update of the latter map shows the Wagon Road on it, as well as the Tract, Colonel Dalrymple having received the information during the intervening years, as can be seen on the map partially reproduced in the map section of the book. This fact is also supported by the experience of Moravian brother Herman Loesch (Lash).[279]

Herman Lash, Moravian pioneer

Herman Lash was born in Tulpehocken, Pennsylvania in 1726, and had an older brother, Jacob, and two younger brothers, George and Adam, all of whom eventually came to North Carolina. Herman, as stated, was a member of both the original Spangenberg party and the settlers' party, chosen to return as a guide because of his knowledge of the area, and to help locate temporary winter quarters and the places for the future towns on the Tract. He could also help his older brother Jacob, who was the party's business manager, in charge of all practical affairs for the settlement.

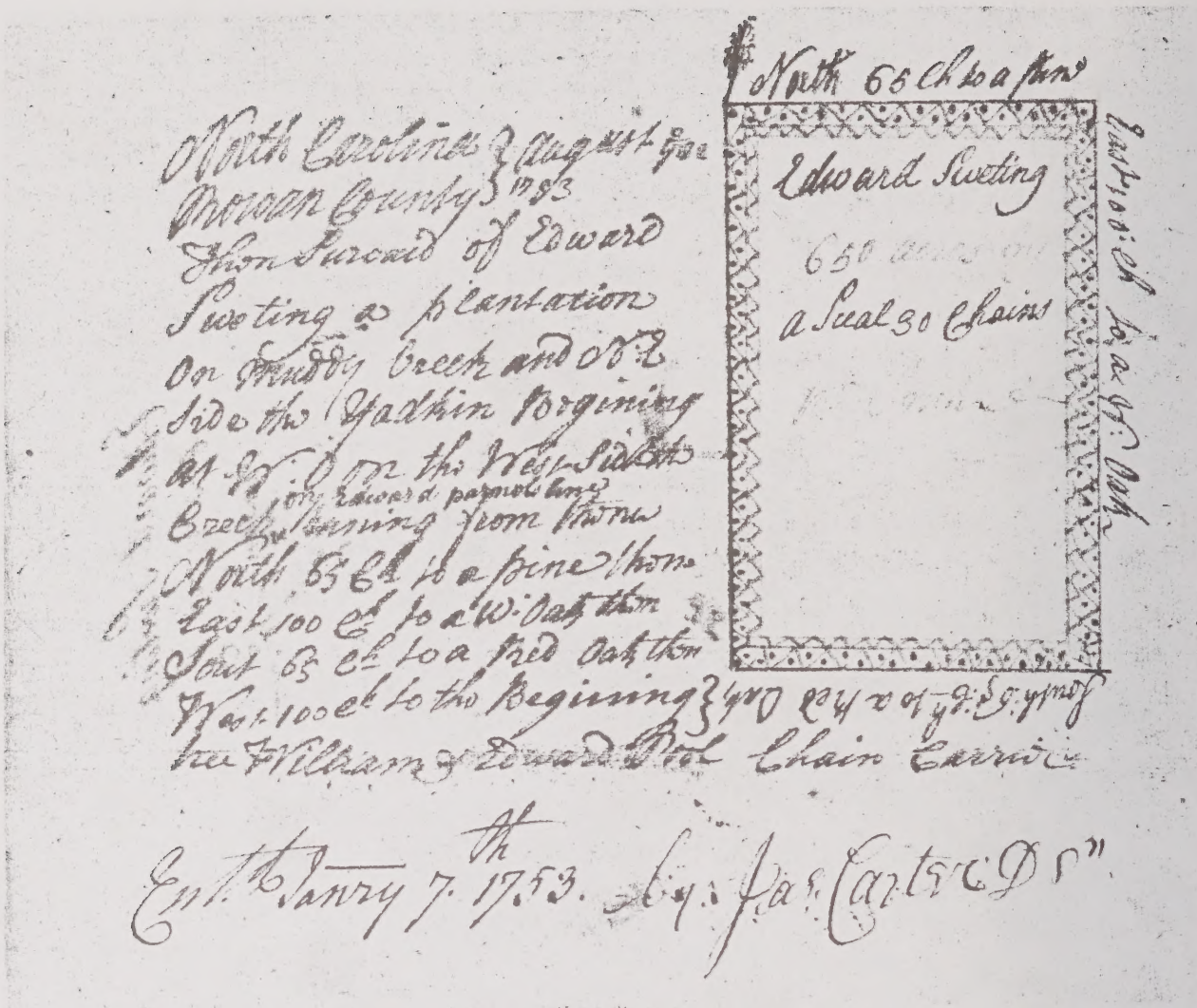
Also as noted, when the explorers' party arrived in Wachovia, the road probably stopped at Town Fork Creek, at a spot only about three miles from the northern border of Wachovia. Hence, since the Wagon Road was the colonial equivalent of only "three lots" away from the Tract, the Bishop could say that Wachovia was *on the upper road to Pennsylvania*, it being as close as it was. His companion Herman Lash returned there as a guide ten months later, and acted as such on the 15th, going ahead of the larger party to search for shelter. Their discovery of a *new road* the next day, which by all indications in the Diary began on the south bank of Town Fork Creek, probably having been told of it by William Haltham--who had more than likely helped cut it, probably with both Henry Banner and Hans Wagner--had to have made his expertise as a guide unnecessary. In the Diary entry for the 17th, he was not guiding the party, Gottlob Koenigsderfer and Nathanael Seidel, neither of whom intended to stay in Wachovia but for a few days, acted in that capacity.

[279] The following account was taken from Fries, *Records I-IV*, and Fries, *Diary*, passim.



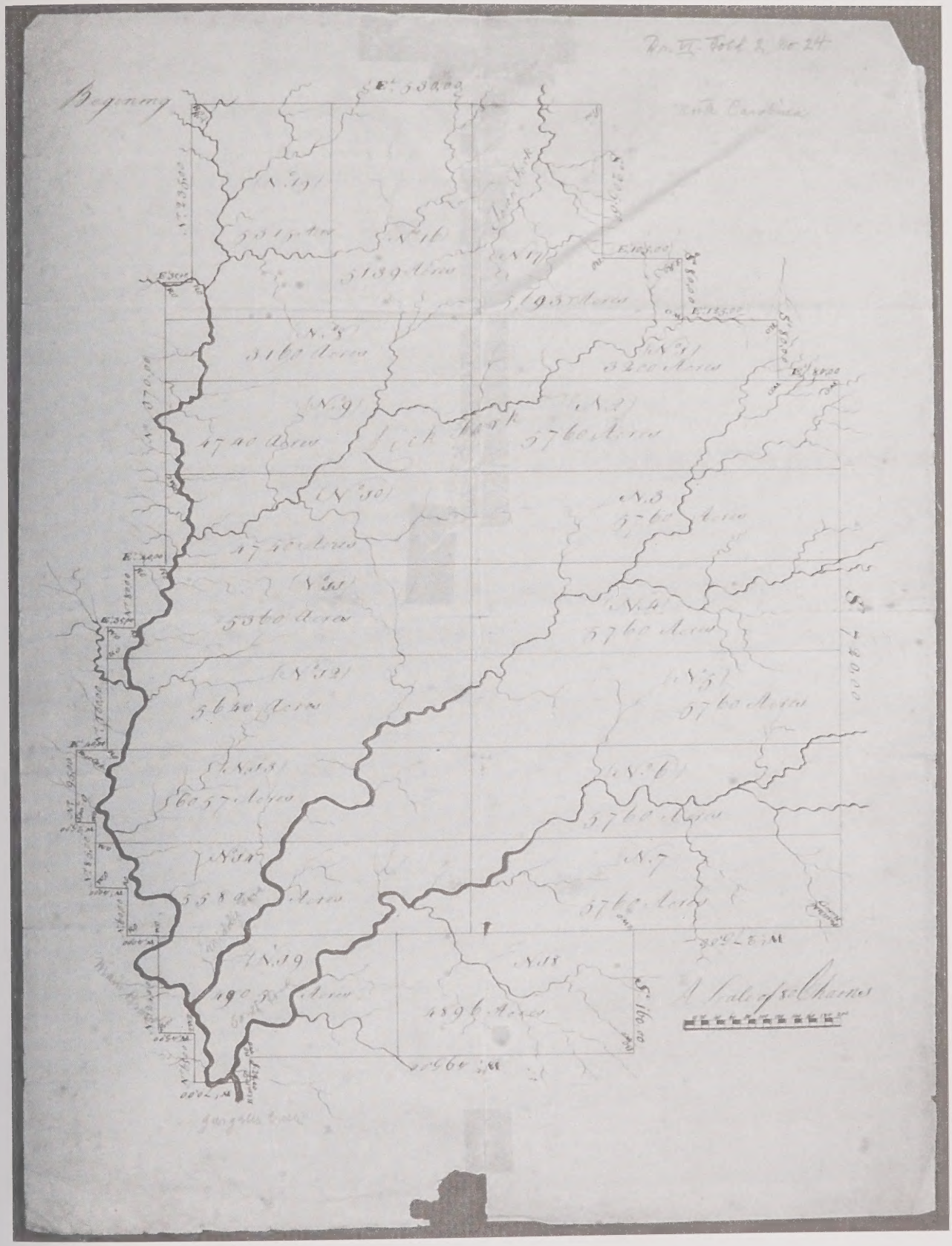
Joshua Fry – Peter Jefferson

1751



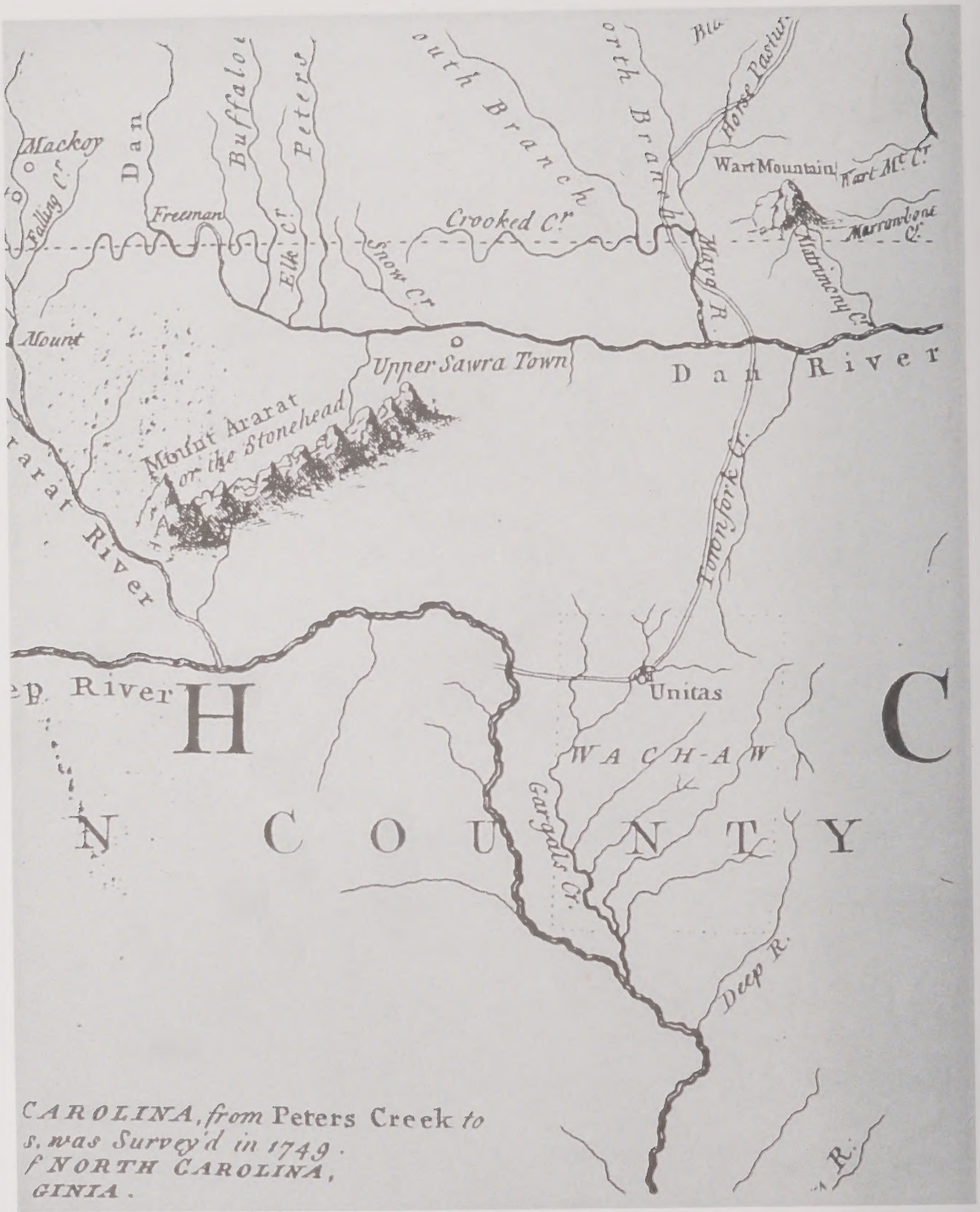
James Carter for Edward Sweeting

January 7, 1753



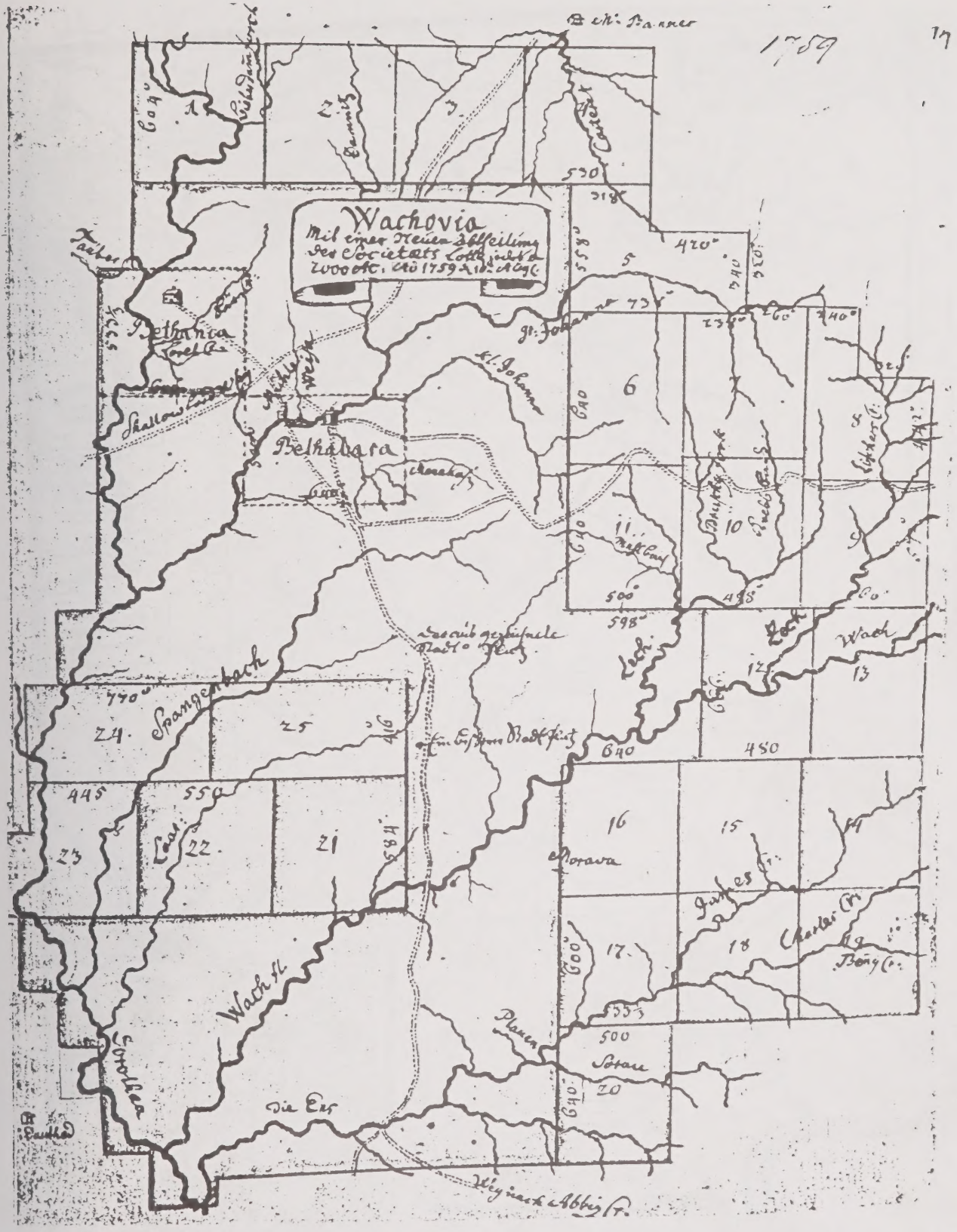
Churton's Survey Map of Wachovia

1753

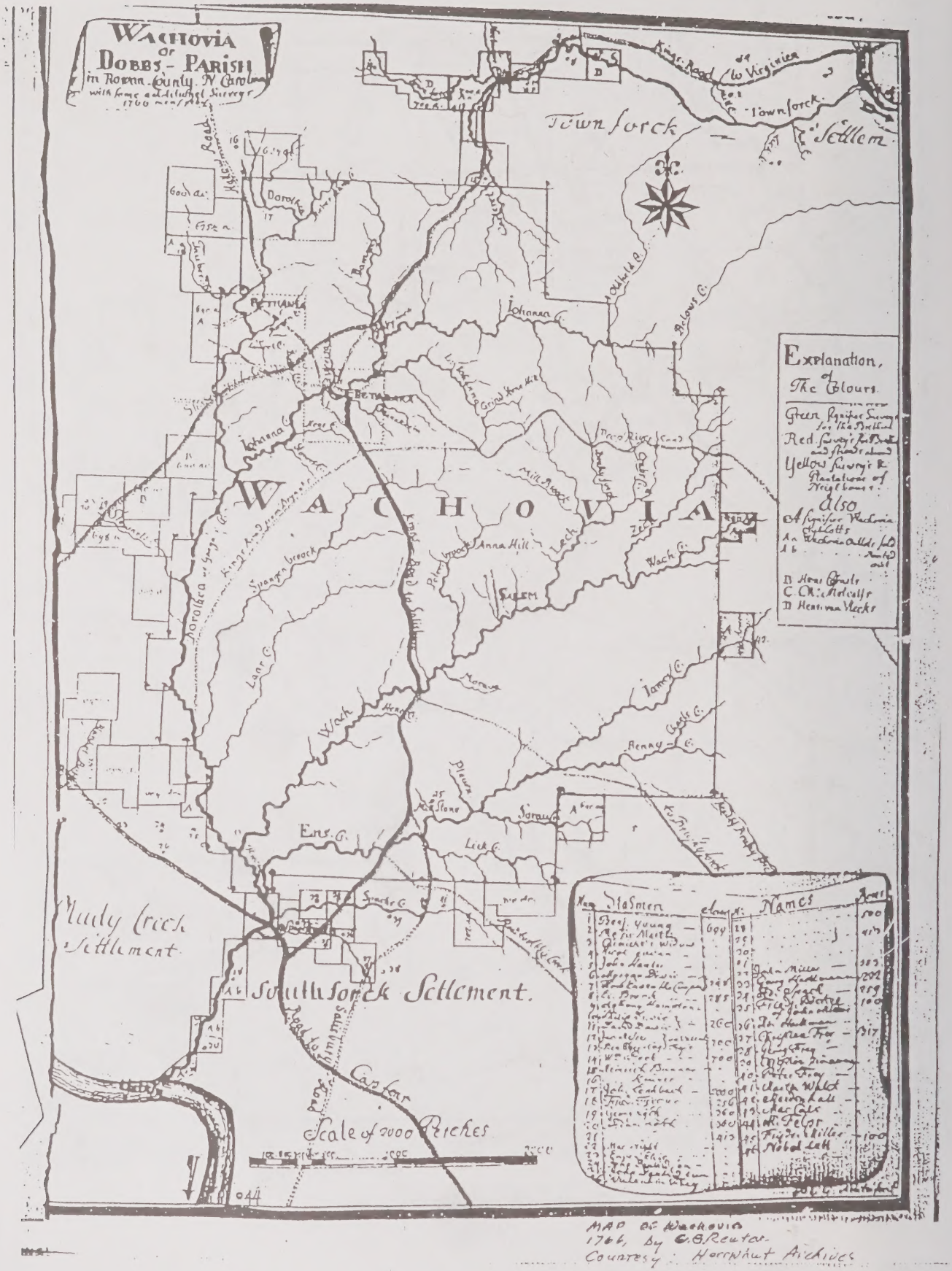


Fry – Jefferson

1755



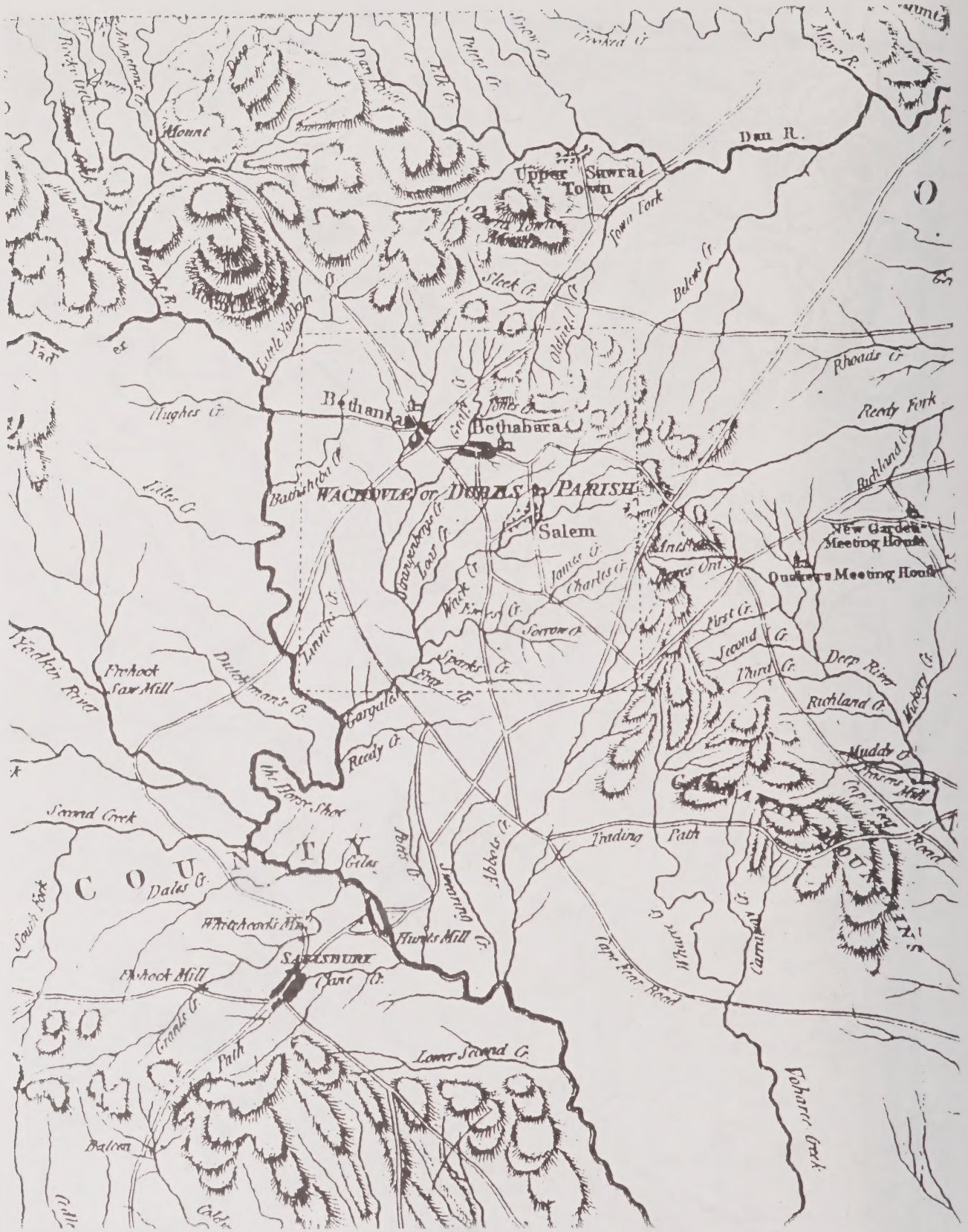
Reuter's of Wachovia
1759



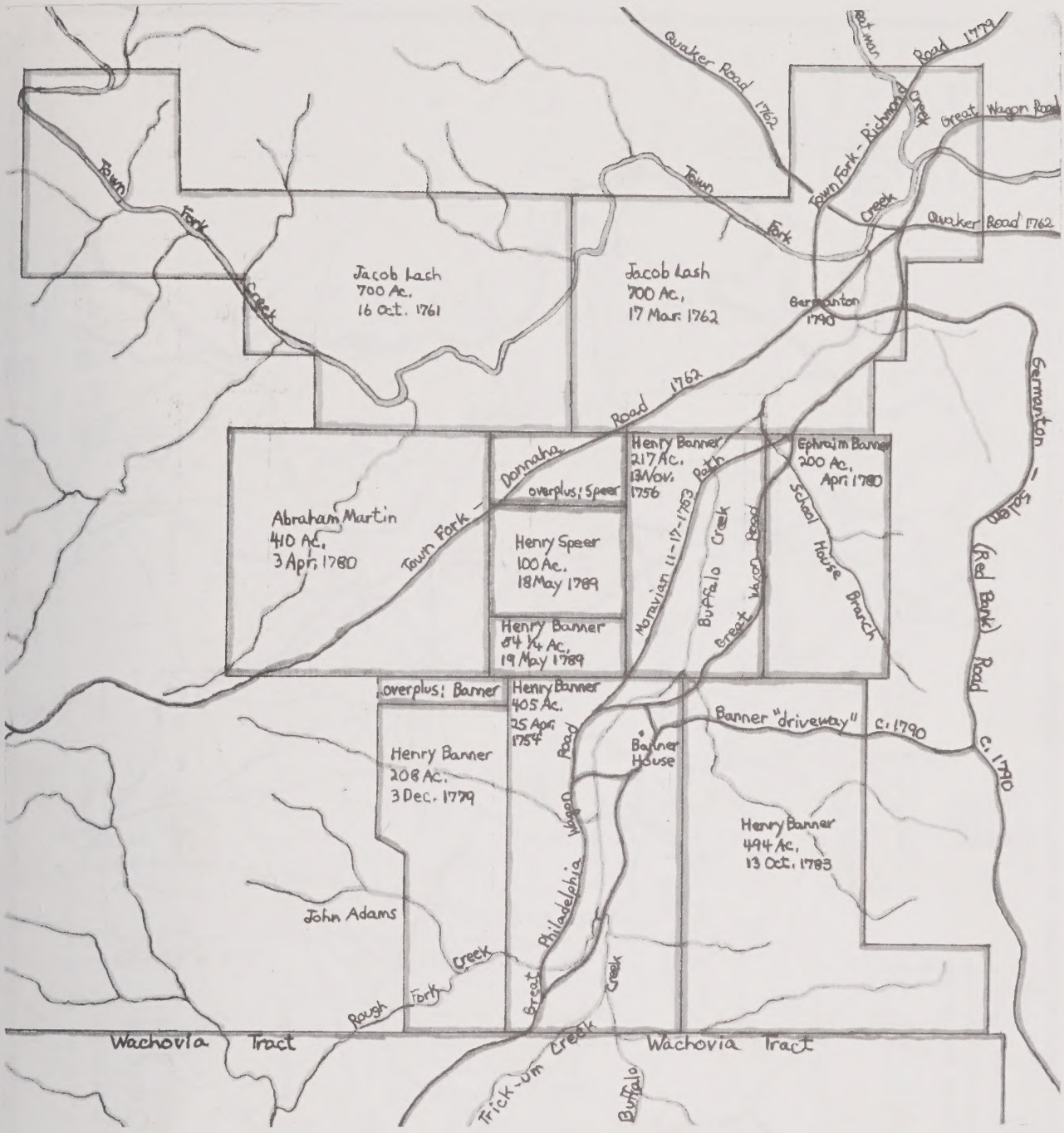
MAP OF WACHOVIA
1766, by C.G. Reuter.
Courtesy: Herrnhut Archives

Reuter's of Wachovia
1766

Detail of John Collet
1770

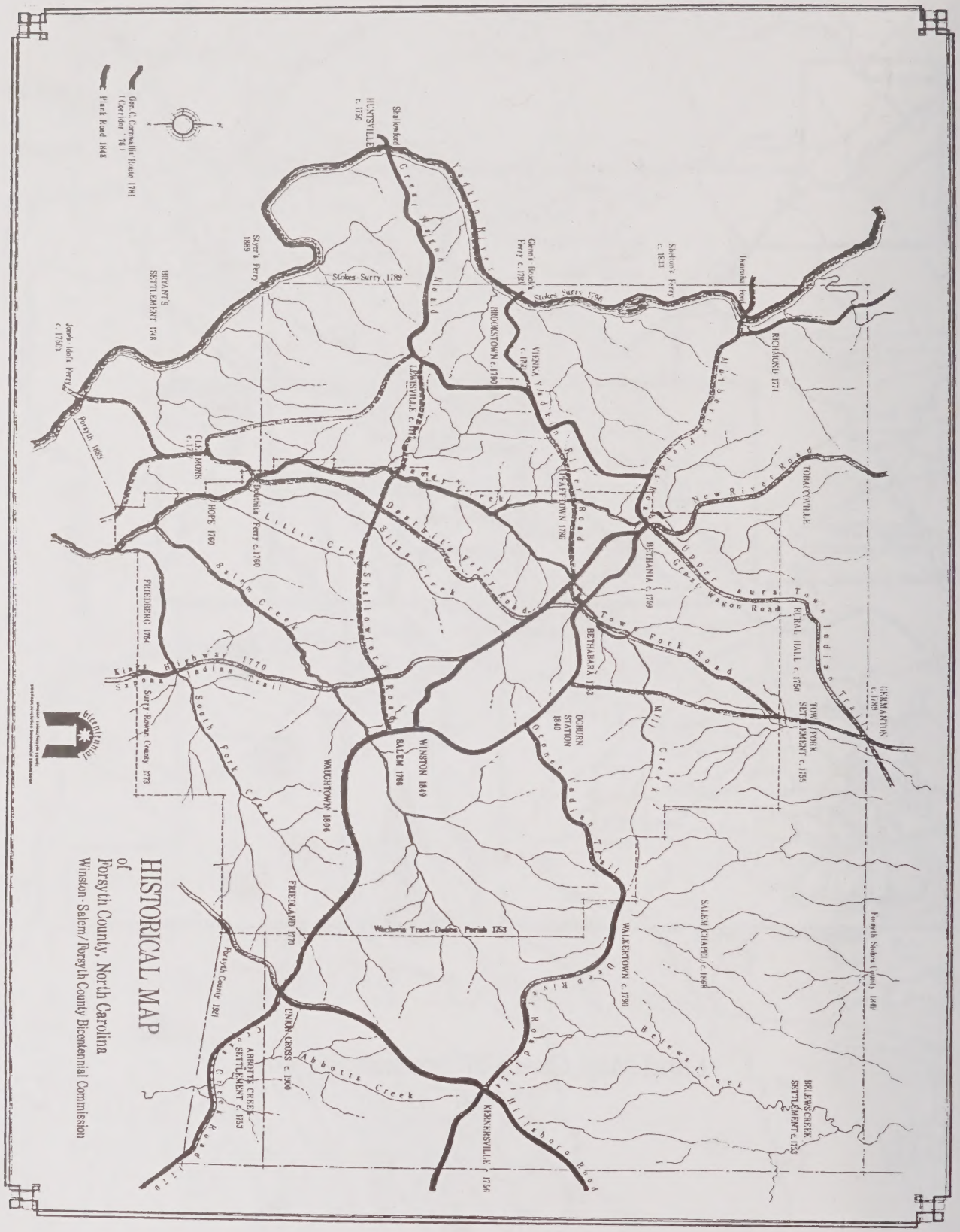


Detail of Henry Mouzon
1775



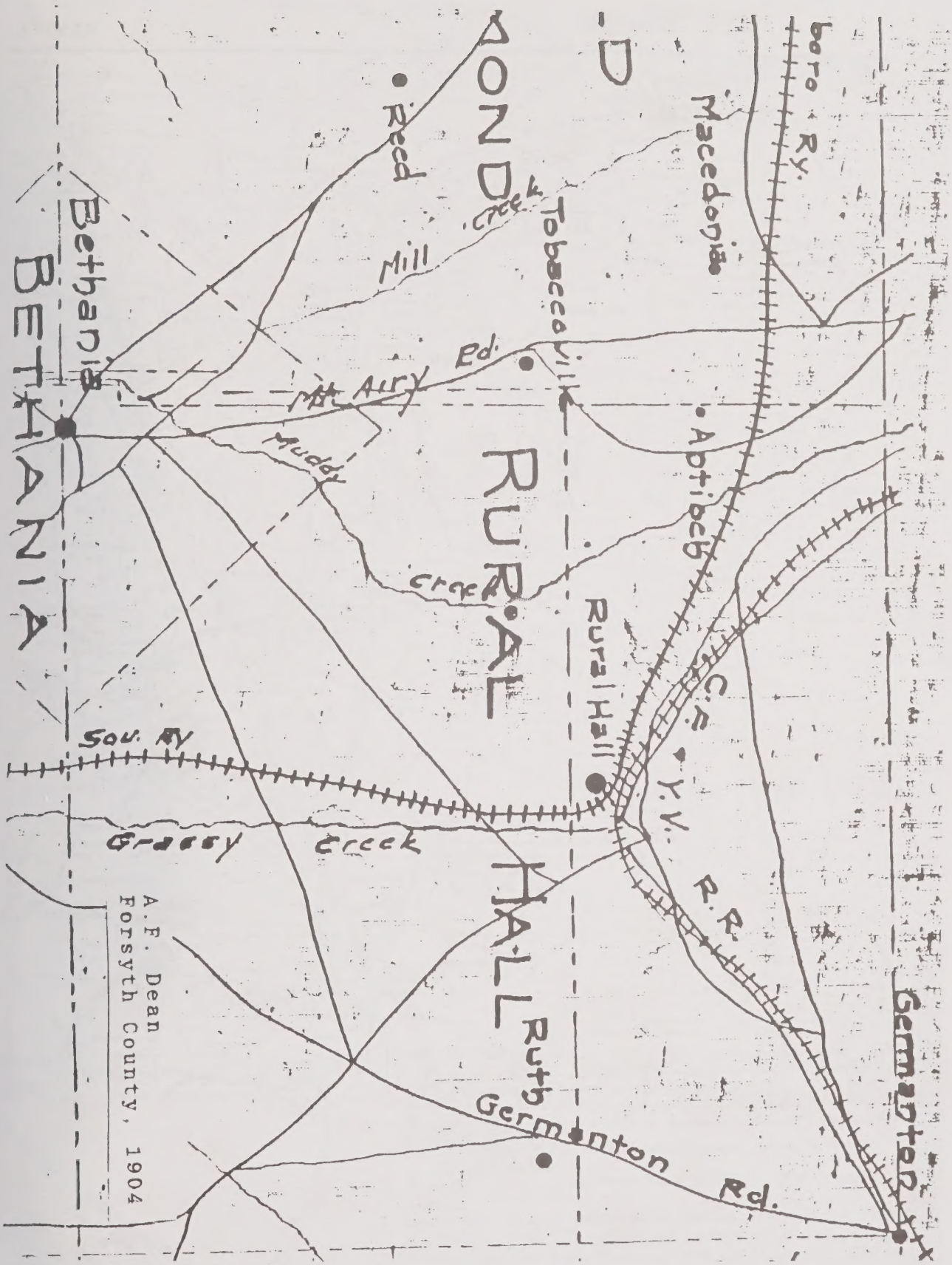
Land Map Grant of Germanton, etc.

1997



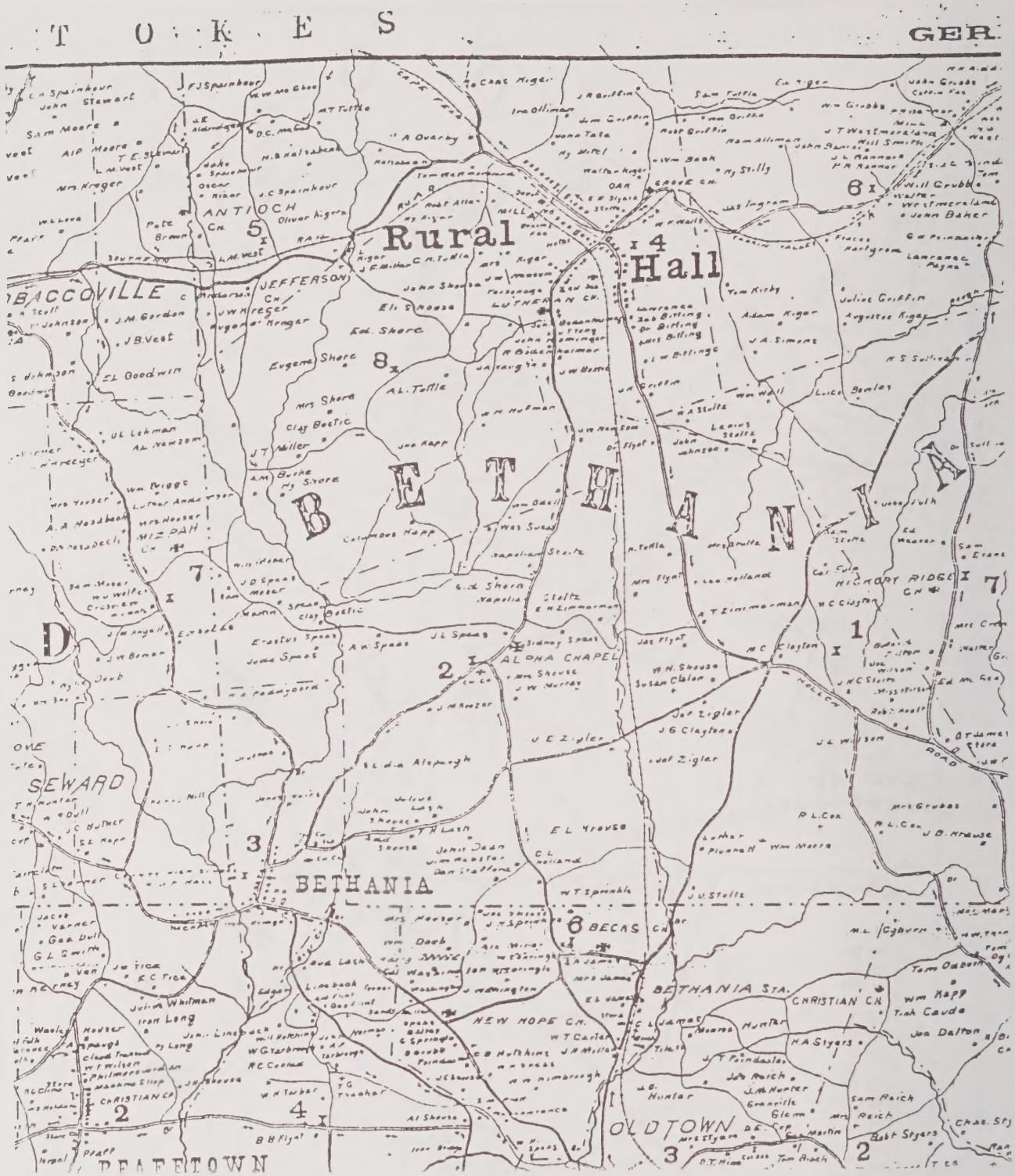
Historical Map of Forsyth County

1975



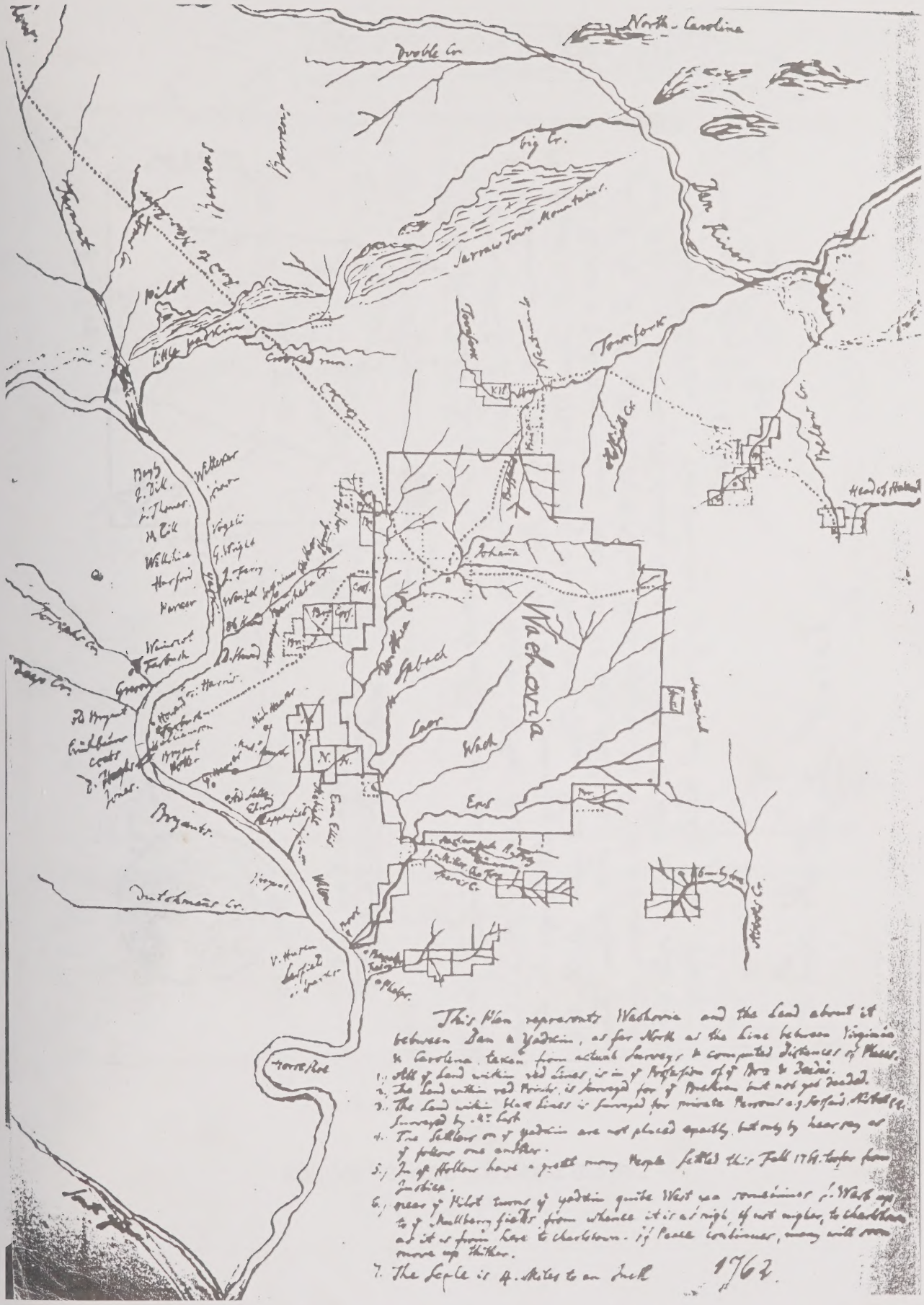
A. F. Dean – Forsyth County

1904



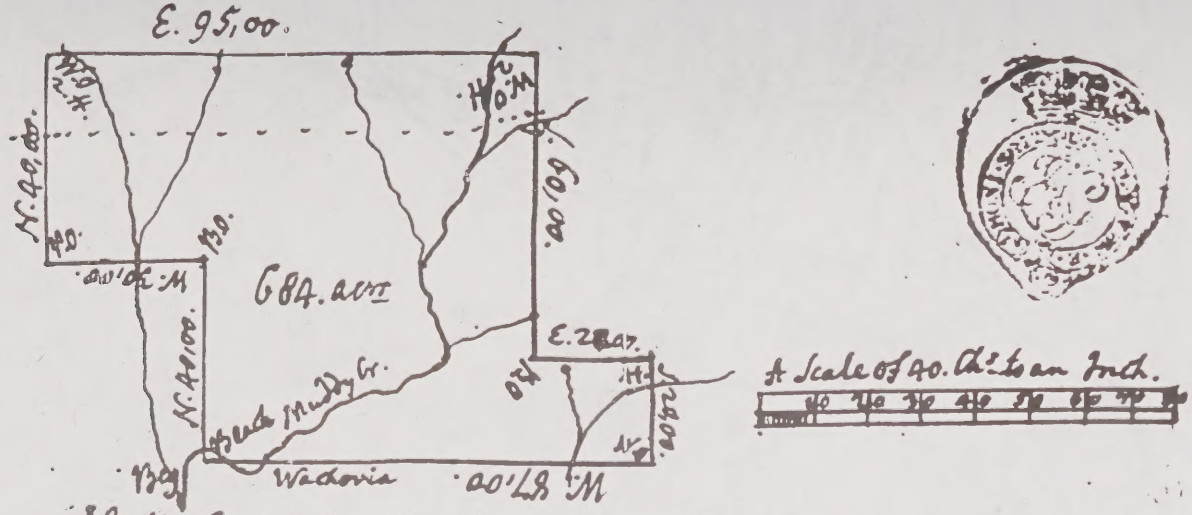
C. M. Miller

1907


North Carolina
Double Cr.
Big Cr.
Jarratt Town Mountain
Pilot
Little Yadkin
Tom Fork
Head of Holland
Wachovia
Splach
Loar
Wach
Ens
Bryants
Dutchmans Cr.
Horse Rd
This Plan represents Wachovia and the Land about it between Dan & Yadkin, as far North as the Line between Virginia & Carolina, taken from actual Surveys & computed Distances of Places.
1. All of Land within red Lines, is in ye Possession of ye Bros & Sisters.
2. The Land within red Points, is surveyed for ye Brethren, but not yet Deeded.
3. The Land within blue Lines is surveyed for private Persons & ye Land within Black Lines is surveyed by ye Lord.
4. The Settlers on ye Yadkin are not placed exactly, but only by hear say as ye Inhabitants are settled.
5. In ye Hollow have a great many People settled this Fall 1761. Taylor from Yadkin.
6. ye Pilot Mount ye Yadkin quite West was sometimes ye West end of ye Shallberry Fields from whence it is as nigh, if not nigher, to Charlestown as it is from here to Charlestown. If Peace continues, many will come more up thither.
7. The Scale is 4 Miles to an Inch
1762

Reuter's Freehand of Wachovia, etc.

1762



North-Carolina} This Plan represents a Tract of Land surveyd for Mr
Rowan-County } Jarvis Robuck. lying on y Head Waters of Muddy Creek.
Beginning at a Beach in Wachovia Line. running North 40 Chs to a
Black Oak, Than West 30. Chs to a Post Oak. Than North again 40 Chs to a
White Oak & 2. Hickor. Than East 95. Chs to a White oak & 2. Hickor. Than
South 60. Chs to a Black Oak. Than East again 22 Chs to a Hickor. South
20. Chs to a W.O. in Wachovia Line. Than West 87 Chs along said Line,
to y first Station. Containing Sixhundred Eighty four Acres.
Surveyd Janr 21st 1762.

Sw. Ch. Carr. } John Beroth

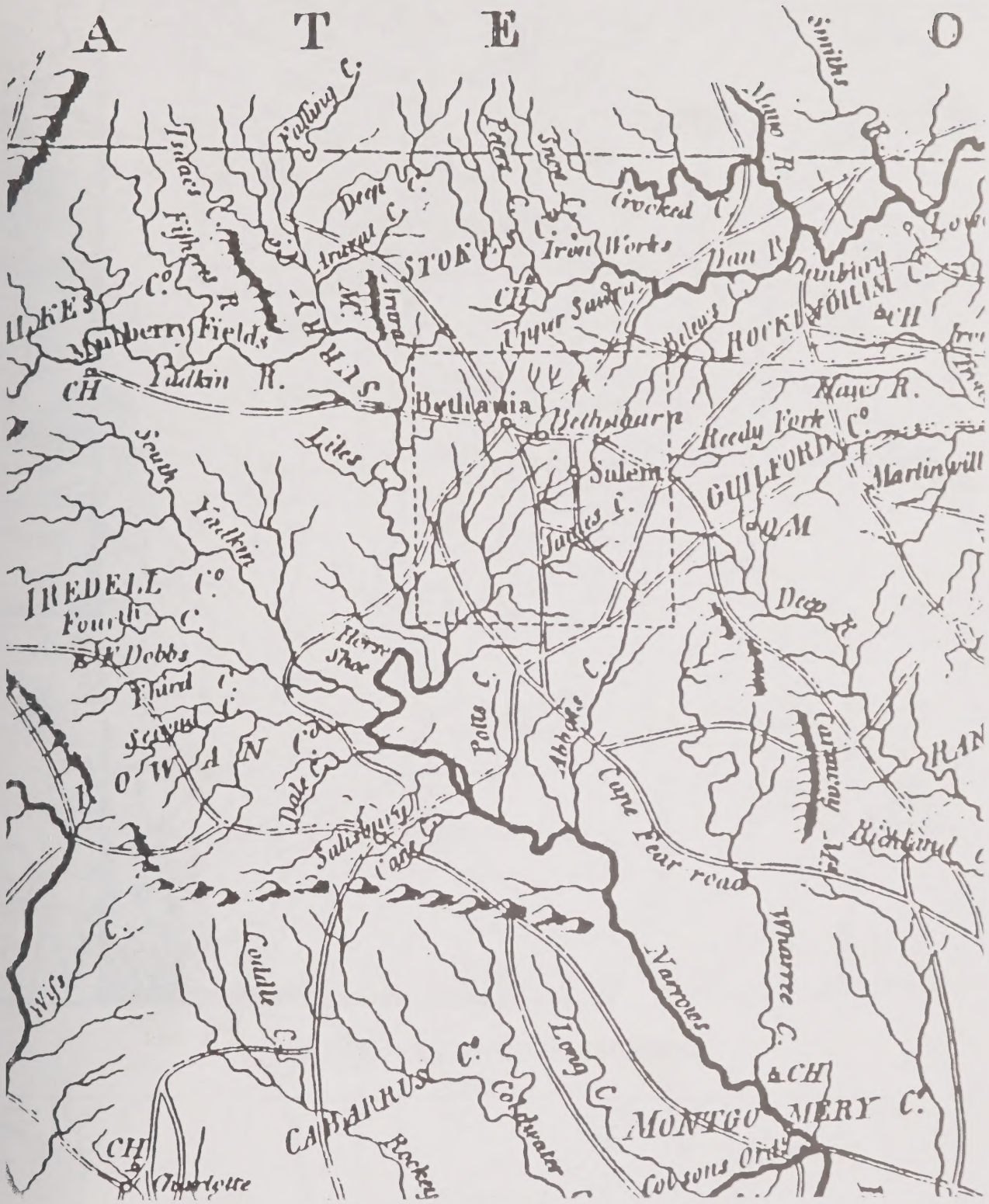
Jacob Lash D. Surv.

Jacob Lash for Jarvis Robuck
January 12, 1762

Bethania Town Lot

1766

Bethabara
1754



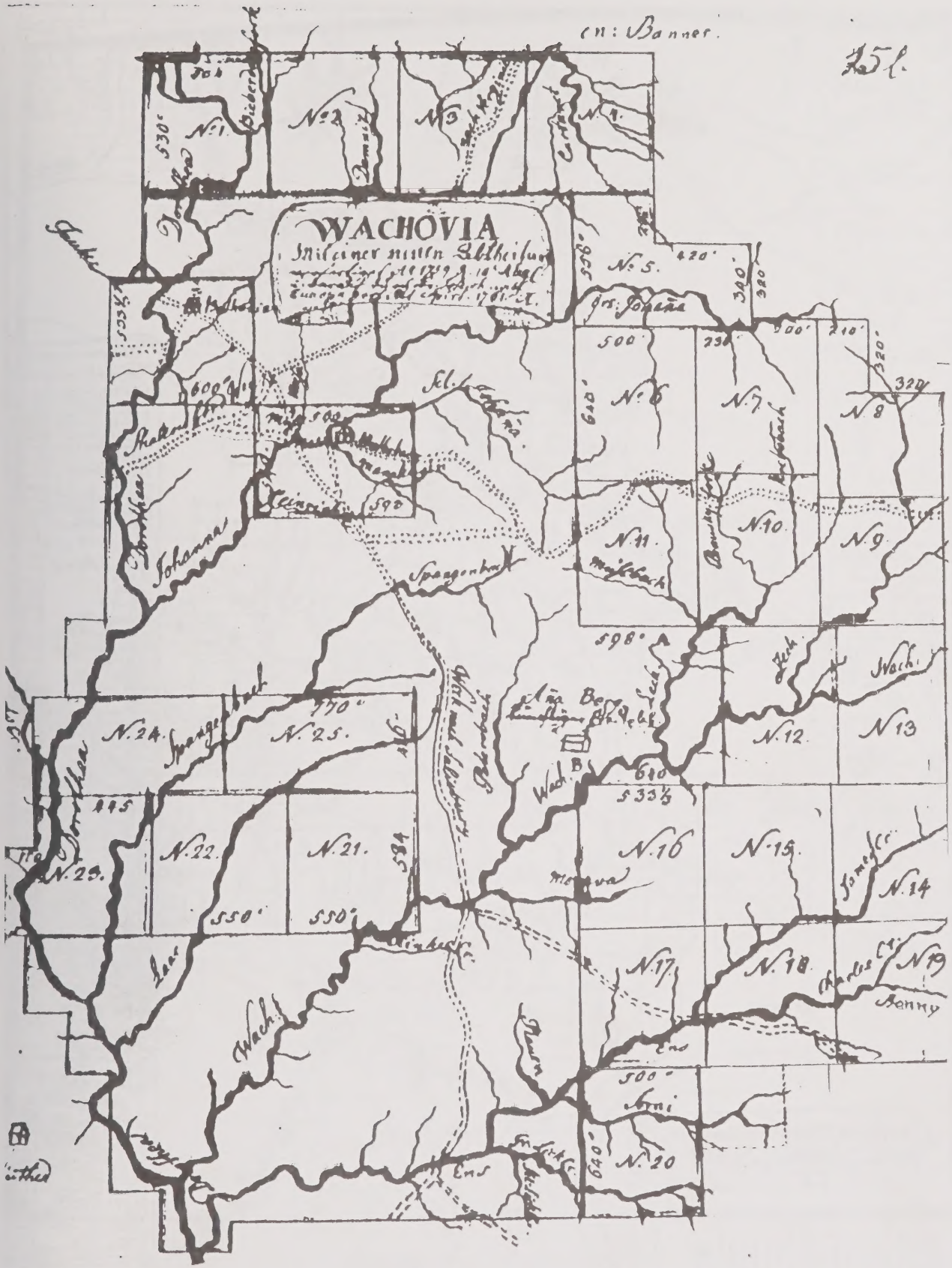
Samuel Lewis
1795

IREDELL
ROWAN
COUNTY
SURRY
STANLY
GUILFORD
SALISBURY
LEXINGTON
SALEM
BETHABARA
BETHANIA
HUNTSVILLE
ST.TEESVILLE
Sr Yadkin R.
Sr Yadkin
Hickory L.
Rock Creek
Panther Cr
Centen Church
Bethesa Church
Sharp
Gather
Mathers
Eagles
Balls
Mountain C
Grenanton
Hauser's
Pendleton
Brookes
Freeman
Hughes
Pilot Mt
Rock Bold
Clems
Wright
Cal Williams
Hickory L. Branch
Beans ford
Parks
Rock Creek
Hunting Creek
Dutchmans Cr
Hunting Creek
Sandy Creek
Flat Cr
Hunting Creek
Sandy Creek
Hunting Creek
Sandy Creek
Hunting Creek
Sandy Creek

MacRae – Brazier

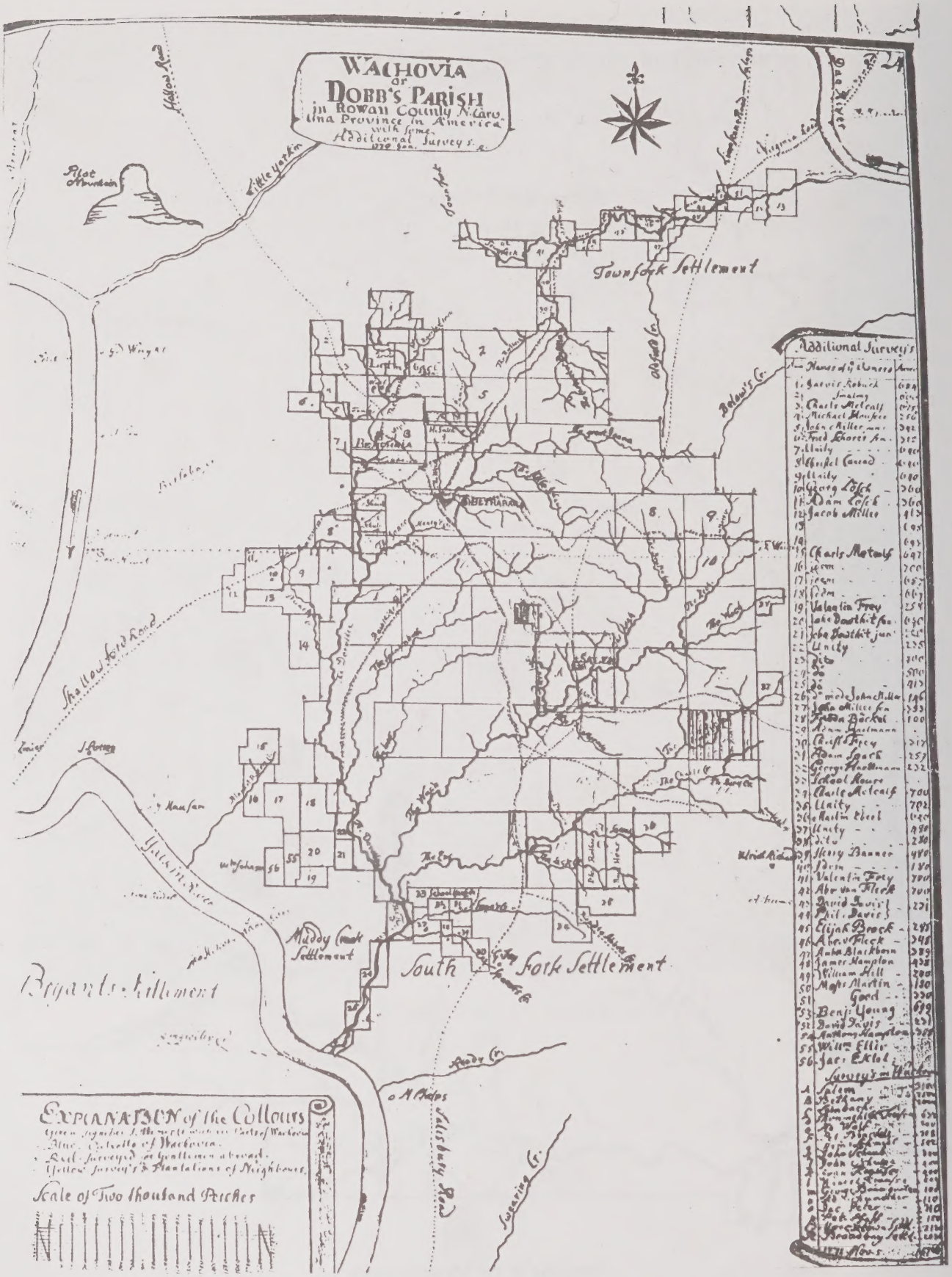
1833

Reuter's "East Part of Surry County"
May 10, 1771

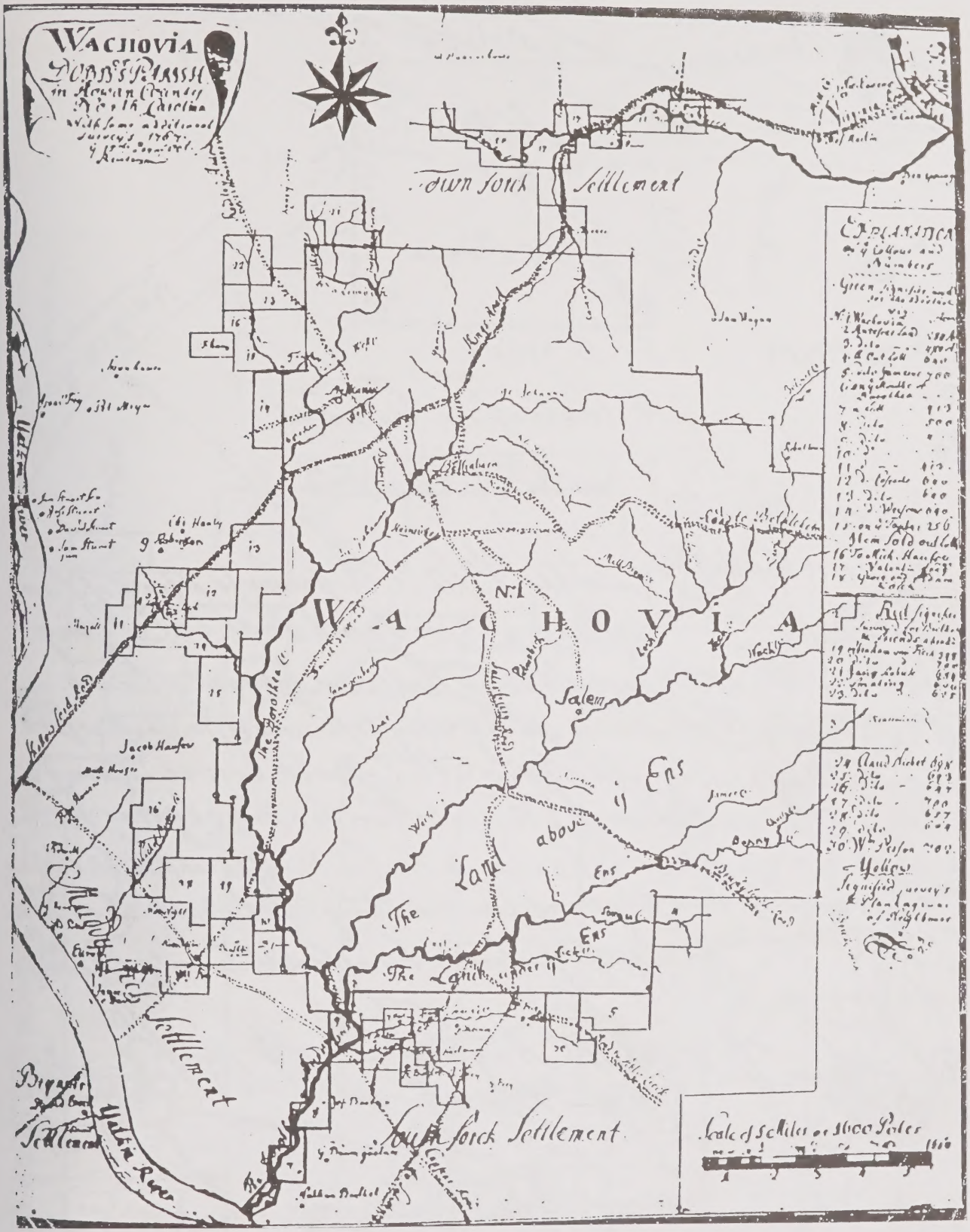


Reuter's of Wachovia

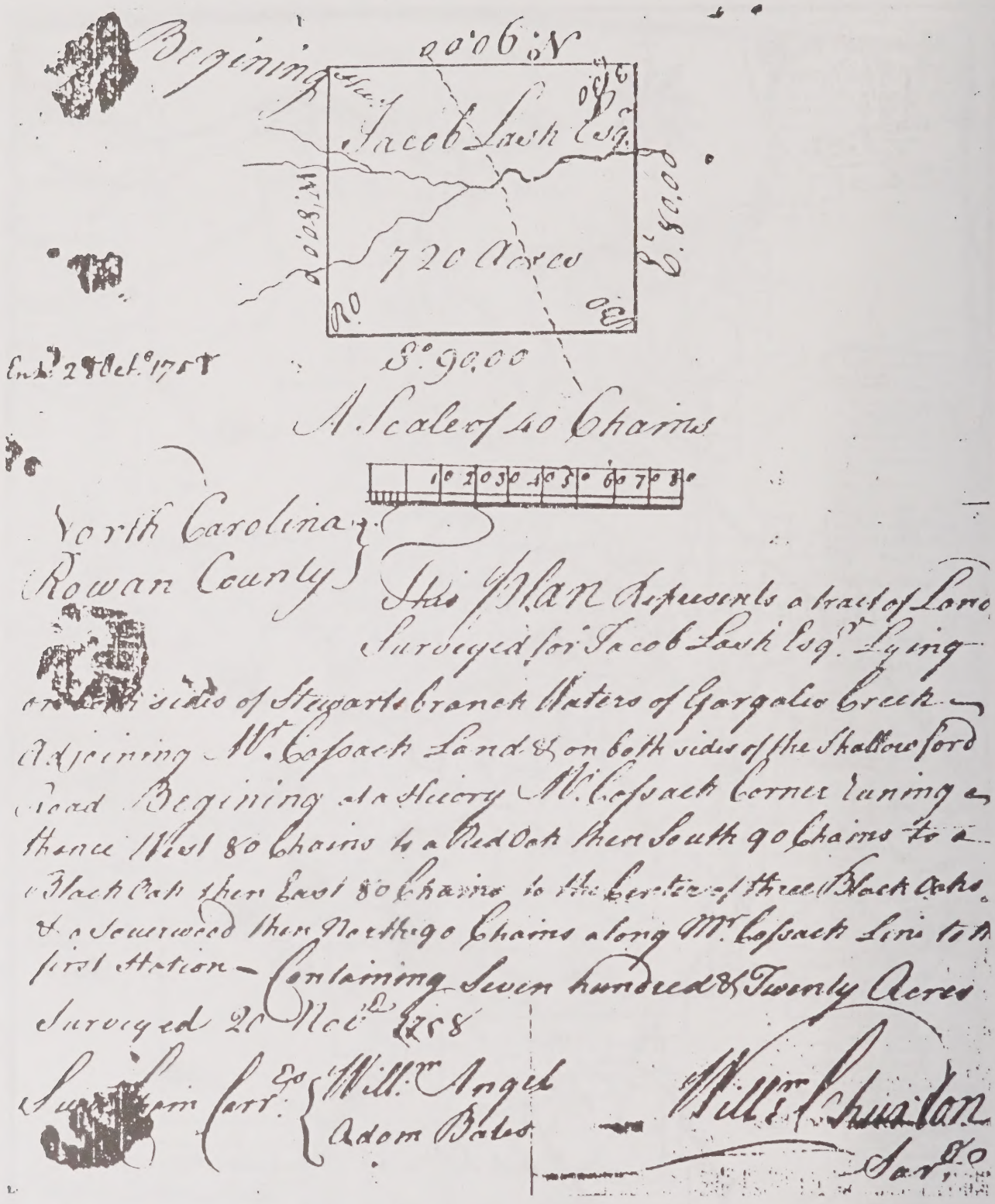
1761



Wachovia
1770



Reuter's of Wachovia
1767


Beginning
N 90°06 W
Jacob Lash Esq.
720 Acres
S. 90,00
A Scale of 40 Chains
1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8
North Carolina
Rowan County
This Plan Represents a tract of Land
Surveyed for Jacob Lash Esq. Lying
Adjoining Mr. Cosoach Land & on both sides of the Shallow ford
Road Beginning at a Hicory Mr. Cosoach Corner Running
thence West 80 Chains to a Red Oak then South 90 Chains to a
Black Oak then East 80 Chains to the Center of three Black Oaks
& a Sourwood then North 90 Chains along Mr. Cosoach Line to the
first Station — Containing Seven hundred & Twenty Acres
Surveyed 20 Nov. 1758
Surveyor
Test. Will. Angel
Adam Bates
Will. Churton
Surv. Gen.

William Churton for Jacob Lash

November 20, 1758

Detail of Wachovia
1770

Detail of Mouzon
1775

Another rather tantalizing clue about this road is given later in this same day's Diary entry. In order to go from this *new road* to the former Wagner cabin, it is recorded that the Brethren had to *turn to the left* off the Wagon Road for two and a half miles, cutting a road as they went. It seems fairly obvious from the wording of this passage that the Wagon Road itself traveled further than they say here, but we are not given anything more at this time.

Explorations of Wachovia and beyond

Nine days later, though, the Diary records that three Brethren--Gottlob, Nathanael, and Adam Grube--*went out to look over our land, and made a circuit of some five miles, finding plenty of good fertile ground, . . .* [280] One possible route of the right length for that circuit would have taken them to the present Old Town Shopping Center in one direction, the Grassy Creek Bottom in another, and through the present Sara Lee tennis courts--on the two and a half mile road they had cut on the 17th--back to Bethabara. The next day, as Dr. Kalberlahn treated a friend of Mr. Haltham, he and Gottlob Koenigsderfer, Nathanael Seidel, and Jacob Lash explored the Black Walnut Bottom, about four miles from the cabin at the future site of Bethania, discovering a good site for a mill, probably at the spot one was later built, near the present Bethania Golf Course.[281] On both of those short trips, had there been a road through any part of the Tract north of Bethabara running toward the Yadkin, they would have encountered it, and probably have mentioned it in the Diary, given their penchant for complete documentation. The Wagon Road, no matter which way one believes it ran, crossed the Grassy Creek Bottom, and went through either Old Town Shopping Center or south to the future site of the Bethabara Mill, and therefore in either case across the ridge between Bethabara and Bethania. From this it would seem that Haltham, Banner, and Wagner stopped the Wagon Road at Grassy Creek at that time, and seemingly for the express purpose of aiding the Moravians when they would finally arrive, they of course not knowing which way the Moravians would want to go once they arrived.[282]

One can obviously engage in conjecture on why the road only went this far at the time, especially considering the Bryant's Settlement on the Yadkin. As one should remember, on the trip south in October and November 1753, the Brethren stated that the Hickey Store was the closest place they could get salt. This was not true for the Bryant's Settlement, which was far closer to the Trading Path, and all that passed along it, than they were to the Smith River. The Shallow Ford was about 75 miles from the future Martinsville, but only about 30 from the Trading Camp Settlement, now Salisbury, and still less to either the Irish or Fourth Creek Settlements, now Cleveland and Statesville, all three of them located on the northern branch of the Trading Path. This fact also concerns the Moravians after their settlement in Wachovia in 1753, as will be made clear later.

---

[280] Fries, *Records*, p. 82.

[281] Fries, *Records*, p. 82.

[282] They possibly could have assumed that they would want to stay for a short time in Wagner's abandoned cabin, but they either didn't think of that or they wanted to provide access to more than just the future Bethabara.

Also, one must say Bishop Spangenberg was very observant, and wrote virtually everything he witnessed in his journal. One place clearly addressing this is this passage:

> *Or they could go down the Roanoke River, I do not know how many miles, to a point where salt can be brought up the river from Cape Fear, but there is as yet no road which a man can use.*[283]

How did Bishop Spangenberg know of the Roanoke River, other than from his stay at Edenton? He possibly knew somewhat of it before he left Bethlehem, for Schnell and Hussey had been there previously, or possibly from Colonel Byrd's account:

> *On December 2, the two pilgrims reached the Roanoke River, on the boundary between Virginia and Carolina. Here they found the rich farmlands which Colonel William Byrd II had purchased twenty years earlier and promoted to European emigrants as his New-found Eden. Schnell may have seen a copy of Byrd's Neu-Gefundnes Eden in Virginia, which had been printed (by Wilhelm Vogel, or William Byrd) in Switzerland in 1738 to induce Swiss and German immigrants to come south into Virginia and North Carolina.*[284]

The fact that they mentioned the Roanoke River gives a very strong hint as to where to look first; indeed, it is of such a degree of certainty as to virtually admit of no doubt where this store was. The Trading Path crossed the Roanoke at two different places: originally at Occaneechi Island (now Clarksville, Virginia, the Indian town near there lending the Trading Path its original name of *Occaneechi Trail*), and at the time that Bishop Spangenburg wrote at the Moniseep Ford, about 30 miles downstream from Clarksville,[285] and not far from where both road and river entered North Carolina, a ford now drowned by Lake Gaston. The route would also have been close to where Schnell and Hussey had traveled nine years before, and also where Col. Byrd had surveyed the line. It is also known that John Lawson had traveled the Trading Path in 1701, and had ended his journey in the area of the future New Bern, just as Schnell and Hussey later did, and giving one more reason to believe that Schnell and Hussey traveled a part of the Trading Path on their 1743 journey, probably crossing the Roanoke River by the Path.[286] The Trading Path was the premier road of the Virginia and North Carolina backcountry, an incredibly well-used and well-maintained road,[287] and it seems logical to assume that the storehouse, which would supply all settlements along the Path, was probably close to that ford. The Trading Path, as noted, originated

[283] Fries, *Records*, p. 44.

[284] Rouse, *Road*, p. 40.

[285] Depicted on both the 1770 Collet and 1775 Mouzon maps. Intriguingly, according to the Ogilby 1672 map, the map drawn in response to the publication of Dr. John Lederer's journal of two years earlier, the Trading Path at that time crossed at Occaneechi Island, at the present Clarksville.

[286] See n. 284, above.

[287] Indeed, it had been a trade route connecting the Indian villages of the James River valley with the Catawbas and Cherokees since before Lederer, Needham, and Arthur used it in the 1670's, with parts also having been used by both DeSoto and Pardo in the 16th century. John Lawson wrote of traders on it in 1701.

at Petersburg. The very significant phrase, *no road which a man can use*, probably refers to the backcountry area they would be settling in, the Trading Path area already heavily settled, and therefore unavailable for the granting of as large a Tract as the Brethren were searching for. It must be said, therefore, that before the Moravians arrived, there was no need for Town Fork and the Shallow Ford to be joined by a road at all.

The "German lad"

That being said, I must insert a caveat to my own claim here, in a small clue that came rather as a shock when I first realized its significance. In the travel Diary of the fifteen Moravian Brethren in 1753, they made this entry:

> *In the evening we were visited by a German lad, who lived on the Etkin, and had been to Smith's River for eleven quarts of salt, for which he had paid fifty cents.*[288]

This encounter took place on 15 November 1753, when the Moravian Brethren were encamped on the north bank of the Dan River at the Davis Ford. The question must then be asked here: who was this 'German lad'? He is clearly very important to our inquiry, for his very existence, where he was coming from, and where he was going, seem to completely destroy the previous contention, for if he lived on the Yadkin River (the 'Etkin'), then seemingly there was a *road* connecting the Yadkin, possibly in the Bryant's Settlement, running toward the Dan and points north.

It is a known fact that there were a number of Germans living in the present Rowan County even at that early date:

> *With the exception of Peter Arndt, Martin Pfeiffer, and Lorenz Schnepp, the author has discovered nothing to indicate the settlement of German pioneers in what is now Rowan County prior to 1752. During the next ten years, however, the county court records, land grants, deeds, tax lists, and wills record the presence of forty-three Germans. . .*
>
> *It must be emphasized that some of these German pioneers may have been living on the Carolina frontier for several years prior to 1752, but proof is lacking. However, of the forty-three German immigrants considered in this chapter, only four are known to have landed in Philadelphia after 1751.*[289]

With so many Germans coming to the port from which so many settlers of the Carolina backcountry came through, this would tend to support the idea that there was a road from the Davis Ford of the Dan to the Trading Ford on the Yadkin. It would also support such a route toward the Shallow Ford, it being the nearer wagon ford over the Yadkin from the Davis Ford. Both such claims have been made concerning the Wagon Road, and will be examined later in this chapter and in the next.

I believe, however, that I can adequately account for the existence of this German lad, based on several things written at a later time in the Moravian Diaries, without

[288] Fries, *Diary*, p. 354.

[289] Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 87.

resorting to either of these arguments. One, the Diaries referred to Hans Wagner first as merely *a German*, as previous noted. Two, again according to the Diaries, Hans Wagner had a son:

> *Feb. 19 [1754]. In the evening Hans Wagner's son came [to Bethabara],--Wagner once lived on our land and built the cabin which we now occupy.*
>
> *Feb. 20. Hans Wagner's son went home. Toward evening the Brethren returned from the Etkin.*[290]

Intriguingly, Wagner's son visited Bethabara during the time that the Brethren were cutting the Road toward the Shallow Ford on the Yadkin: this very important passage in the Diaries will be examined in full in Chapter Three. The intriguing thing about Wagner and his son at that time is that they were living *on the Yadkin*:

> *Feb. 21. At noon Br. Loesch returned from the Etkin, where he had ordered some meal from Hans Wagner.*[291]
>
> *Aug. 12 [1755]. Br. Kalberlahn went to the Yatkin to see Hans Wagner, who has been very ill, but is now better.*[292]

The fact that the Moravians were ordering meal from Hans Wagner does not seem surprising to me in the least, he by that time--seemingly--having the closest mill to the Wachovia Tract, only sixteen miles from Bethabara as opposed to Abraham Cresson's mill on Turner Creek in present Yadkin County, nineteen miles away, another fact to be discussed in Chapter Three. Wagner had settled near the Donnaha Ford on a tract he had purchased from William Linville, son-in-law of Morgan Bryant, Sr. As can be seen immediately, this fulfills two of the three requirements for this German lad to be Wagner, Jr.: one, he was German; and two, he lived on the Yadkin. The third, obviously, is the existence of a road, or at least a path, leading to his home from the Great Wagon Road at the Davis Ford of the Dan. This point will be very strongly corroborated by certain documented facts later in this chapter.

The North-South route through Wachovia

One of the main claims about the Great Wagon Road in Forsyth County, by people that had investigated such historical catalysts for years, is that the road traveled from north to south through Wachovia before the Moravians arrived on 17 November 1753. This particular claim--probably the best known of all--was made by several notable researchers over the years, Manly Wade Wellman being one, who probably based his claim on the chief historical researcher among them, the late Hugh Talmage Lefler (1901-1981), one of the greatest North Carolina historians of the 20th century, who

[290] Fries, *Records*, p. 96.

[291] Fries, *Records*, p. 96.

[292] Fries, *Records*, p. 136. Note the differing spellings of the river's name.

stated it best. In his book *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State*, he described it this way:

> *How did these thousands of Pennsylvania emigres--Scotch-Irish, Germans, Welsh, and others--'with horse and wagon and cattle,' reach their destinations in the North Carolina backcountry? They made their southward trek over "The Great Philadelphia Wagon Road," frequently called 'the bad road,' which began at the Schuylkill River Ferry opposite Philadelphia, ran west through Lancaster to Harris's Ferry on the Susquehanna, thence through York to Williams' Ferry on the Potomac, where it entered the 'Great Valley of Virginia,' passing through Winchester, Strasburg, and Staunton, crossing the James River at present Buchanan, and turning almost due south to the site of present Roanoke, thence eastward through the Staunton Gap of the Blue Ridge, then soutward, crossing the Blackwater, Irvine, and Dan rivers, and thence to Wachovia on a tributary of the Yadkin--and, after about 1756, on to Salisbury.*[293]

Local claims

One can also find examples of more relatively local people supporting this north-south route through Wachovia. *Winston-Salem in History*, a thirteen-volume publication produced by the now defunct Historic Winston in 1976, goes much into depth on many topics in the history of the Winston-Salem - Forsyth County area. Volume Four of the work was titled *Transportation and Communication*, and was written by the above mentioned Manly Wellman. There are two passages and their footnotes written in the book about the Wagon Road that are concerned with this:

> *There they reached a 'new road' leading into Wachovia and beyond, southwestward toward the Yadkin.*
>
> *RM, I, 78, 78n.12, 79. Town Fork Creek ran due east parallel with the northern boundary of Wachovia and may be seen on Wachovia 1766A. The 'new road' the first party encountered was a 'King's Road' which must have been cleared very recently, since Spangenburg did not mention the road in his 1752 survey. The road was built to connect the numerous settlements on Town Fork Creek and along the Yadkin with Virginia to the north, and Salisbury, the county seat, to the south.*
>
> *During March of that year [1754], the Moravians improved the public highway or 'King's Road' through Wachovia, running north to south, and were glad for the permission of Rowan County officials "for us to do our share of the road work alone."*
>
> *RM, I, 98. The actual improvements were made on the section from 'Benner's (Banner on Wachovia 1759) to the Grassy Fork' or the northern approach to Bethabara. The King's Road was already in existence when the first settlers arrived, bisecting Wachovia on a north-south line roughly parallel with Muddy Creek (see Wachovia 1759; also Wachovia 1766B which identifies the 'King's Road' both north and south).*[294]

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[293] Lefler, Hugh T., and Newsome, Albert Ray, *North Carolina: The History of a Southern State*, UNC Press, Chapel Hill, 1954, pp. 77-78.

[294] Wellman, Manly Wade, *Transportation and Communication*, Volume Four of *Winston-Salem in History*, Historic Winston, 1976, p. 2; annotations on p. 42; hereafter called 'Wellman, *Transportation.*'

As can immediately be seen, Manly Wellman dates the road even before that of Mr. Lefler. The point he wants to make is that the Great Wagon Road connected the Yadkin River, probably meaning to indicate the Bryant's Settlement, and the Town Fork Settlement with Virginia and Salisbury as of 17 November 1753. This is very significant in terms of the historical documentation of the area, particularly the Moravian Diaries, and will be explored completely later in the chapter.

Problems with the North-South route, Part One

One of the first things that one notices about this passage in his book is that Hugh Lefler used several sources for this passage, among them the Moravian Diaries at several places. One such place is where he routes the road across Harris' Ferry on the Susquehanna, now Harrisburg, the Moravian Brethren having crossed there on their southward journey in 1753.[295] This routing, however, clearly proves that he never used a Pennsylvania map, for to route the Great Wagon Road from Lancaster through Harrisburg to York is to run upstream for thirty miles out of one's way. Directly between Lancaster and York is Wrightsville, site of the Wright's Ferry, and the beginning of the Monocasy Trail. Harrisburg was on the branch of the Road that went through the Cumberland Valley, and would have been on a road that would run from Lancaster toward *Pittsburg*. Forbes' Road did exactly that during the French and Indian War, and the Pennsylvania Turnpike does so now, but for a road running south and west toward the Shenandoah Valley, this routing would be completely illogical.

Another problem with this passage, one which will be explained in greater detail over the next several pages, is the use of what is called the *tavern thesis*, a well-used and valid tool of many historical investigators. The tavern thesis states that roads can be followed from tavern to ordinary to inn--which is actually a pretty good theory, as far as it goes--because any road is obviously contemporaneous with places to stay in while traveling them. The immediate problem with this is that one also needs strong corroborating evidence to use the tavern thesis, with things such as plat maps, grants, and deeds that mention the road. There are, however, four genuine historically documented facts that lend credence to the claim for a north to south route for the Great Wagon Road through present Forsyth County, this tavern thesis being only one of them. This claim is necessarily rather involved, and will be explored in full in the next few pages.

Four factors

One, the Tavern Thesis

The first factor we must address is Mr. Lefler's use of the tavern thesis, along with several other points connected with it. Mr. Lefler does not mention taverns specifically in his passage on the Wagon Road, but does follow the logical course of that argument here. Bethabara had a tavern by late 1756,[296] and Salisbury also had several by the same year, the year after its incorporation. From 30 May to 2 June 1756, twelve of the

[295] Fries, *Diary*, pp. 330-31.

[296] Fries, *Records*, p. 160.

Moravian Brethren made a trip to Salisbury, having been summoned there to authorize Wachovia as a separate parish within Rowan County, a parish that they named for Governor Arthur Dobbs. The speed with which they made the round trip to Salisbury: seventy miles in four days with one day in court, or 23.3 miles per day, strongly implies the existence of a good road, and seems to be very plausible evidence to suggest that the Great Wagon Road traveled to the Trading Ford and Salisbury.

Two, the town of Salisbury

The second such factor is the town of Salisbury itself. Even though the area had been used as an Indian trading camp since the 1670's, and European settlement began in the late 1740's (called at that time the Trading Camp Settlement), and began to be officially organized as a town in 1753, Salisbury actually wasn't incorporated as a town until 11 February 1755. As the county seat of the newly formed Rowan County from its inception, it very quickly became the largest town of the North Carolina backcountry, a status it maintained for many years. It was served by the Great Trading Path, the most well-traveled road in colonial North Carolina--as was the other relatively large backcountry town, Hillsboro--and the claim that it may also have been served by the Great Wagon Road seems very plausible. Manly Wellman also seems to take this fact into consideration in his claim of a north-south route.

Three, Sweeting's Plat Map

The third factor is the previously mentioned plat map of James Carter for Edward Sweeting on South Fork Muddy Creek, both the plat map and the land grant of course mentioning a *waggon ford* on the creek. From the fact of the known locations of heavy settlement to both the north, i.e., the Town Fork, Dan River and Smith's River Settlements in northern North Carolina and southern Virginia, and south of the area, i.e., the Jersey and Trading Camp Settlements in Davidson and Rowan Counties on both sides of the Trading Ford, it seems logical to assume that the road would travel from north to south in Sweeting's locale, and therefore serves to strengthen the case for this having been the Great Wagon Road.

Four, Wachovia Maps

The fourth factor is, ironically, the continued existence of the maps of Wachovia by Gottlieb Reuter. The oldest one dates to 1759, and shows this road on it but doesn't yet give it a name: see Map # 6 in the map section. The next one is from 1761, and it and all afterward refer to this road within Wachovia as the *King's Road to Salisbury*, lending some additional credence to the claim that it really is the Great Wagon Road. Every Moravian map beginning in 1766, save one of that year, depicts a road running from the previously mentioned crossing of Grassy Creek north of Bethabara, southwest to the Bethabara Mill, thence down Midkiff, Reynolda, and Stratford, through the present Ardmore and over to Ebert Road--running south about two-and-a-half miles west of Salem--and exiting the Wachovia Tract, and now the county, by Old Salisbury Road. These maps will be examined in much greater depth later in the book.

Problems, Part Two

Selective Sourcing

The problem with the first of these factors is that it picks and chooses what it wants to show, and fails to mention much that it needs to or that has significance to it. However, the tavern thesis is in this instance a double-edged sword, for the claim that the Great Wagon Road went to the Trading Ford has completely forgotten about; one, the Bryant's Settlement, centered on the Shallow Ford, between Forsyth and Yadkin counties; two, the Irish or Second Creek Settlement, now Cleveland, Rowan County; three, the Fourth Creek Settlement, now Statesville, county seat of Iredell County; and four, the Sherrill's Settlement, now southeastern Catawba County; *all* of which had taverns by 1750. Significantly, two of these taverns were Edward Hughes' (at the Shallow Ford) and Isaac Ferree's of the Bryant's Settlement, both of them having originally been licensed by the *Anson County* authorities. Many maps complement this, all of them to be discussed fully later in the chapter.

The journey to Salisbury

The problem with the second factor is that the written evidence for a direct road from the Wachovia Tract to the Trading Ford as early as 1753 or 1756 (the year of the Moravians' journey to Salisbury) simply does not exist. The areas connected with Wachovia by road toward the south were much further afield than just the Lexington-Salisbury area. Salisbury, as is well known, was served by the Trading Path, a far more important road than the Wagon Road at the time, which traveled northeast to southwest from Hillsboro in Orange County, through Alamance and southeastern Guilford County, then through Randolph and Davidson counties to the Trading Ford, which crossed the river about a mile south of present I-85, six miles east of Salisbury. This discussion is again very involved, with applicability to both Hugh Lefler's and Manly Wellman's claims, and will be made clear in the examination of the fourth factor.

Edward Sweeting, the "squatter"

A chink in the armor of the third factor involves Edward Sweeting and an exploratory trip taken by three of the Moravian Brethren only eleven days after their arrival in Wachovia, 28-30 November 1753. It also illustrates the point about the Bryant's Settlement and the Town Fork Settlement, the Diary entry for 28 November 1753 confirming that assessment:

> *After breakfast our Brethren Gottlob, Nathanael, and Jacob Loesch set out toward the south-west, in the direction of the Yadkin, to see our land on Muddy Creek. Br. Grube accompanied them several miles through the forest, returning in the afternoon...*[297]

By the claims of everyone involved in the research in Forsyth County, it was either toward the south or southwest that the Wagon Road traveled, according to every map of Wachovia and every such entry in the Moravian Diaries. Whichever way it traveled,

[297] Fries, *Records*, p. 82.

the Brethren would not have found only *forest* had there been such a road. For the southern route, they would have crossed it near the future site of the mill. For the southwestern route, they would have found it between Grassy Creek at the Hanes Mill and Muddy Creek at Pfafftown. This route would have joined Wachovia with the Bryant's Settlement around the Shallow Ford, proving that no road existed then, and Bryant's and Town Fork would not be connected until the Moravians cut their road.

As noted above, on the trip started on 28 November, the three previously mentioned Moravian Brethren discovered they had a squatter on their land:

> *Nov. 30 - In the afternoon Gottlob, Nathanael, and Loesch returned, having been over a goodly portion of our land. They had found a good mill-site, [and] spent the night with an Irshman [Edward Sweeting] who is living on our land, and has cleared seven acres. He seems to be a decent man; has nine children. At first the family were frightened and shy, but the Brethren drew them into conversation, and they became friendly, expressed their regret at having to move, and asked whether they might not stay and raise one more crop. The Brethren did not know what answer to make to them. There is unusually good land in that section, especially fine meadows.*[298]

Sweeting's property, as noted, was on South Fork Creek about a mile north of Davidson County, and still fits the Diaries' description. This location is of consequence in the claim the Road went north to south, as the supposed extension of the *new road* demonstrated in the 17 November Diary entry, and bound for the Trading Ford and Salisbury. Support for this is the fact that Sweeting's grant mentions a *waggon ford* on South Fork Creek. However, as previously stated, the cartographic evidence for this road is completely lacking for that place and time. The documentary evidence is also lacking, the Diary only referring to traveling through the *forest* on this exploration.

As for a road running south or southeast to the Trading Path from Wachovia--such as either the King's Road to Salisbury or the Cape Fear Road would have to--a Moravian Diary narrative written shortly after 22 September 1754 will answer that claim sufficiently:

> *Br. Jacob Loesch made a trip to the Cape Fear, on which there is a Storehouse, 140 miles from the Brethren's settlement. From there he went 140 miles further to Wilmington, . . . He left for the Cape Fear July 24th, returning to Wachovia Aug.8; . Goods are taken up the Cape Fear, -- which is a large river, -- in large boats to the Storehouse. . .From the Storehouse one travels a good road for one hundred miles, then it is forty miles more through the forest to our settlement.*[299]

A point in connection with this is that there is indeed one Moravian map that names

[298] Fries, *Records*, p. 83.

[299] Fries, *Records*, p. 105. The Storehouse mentioned here was the Lyon and Fullerton Store at the Springhill Landing on the Cape Fear, about three miles from downtown Fayetteville, near which is now a Cumberland County park (Arnett Park). Springhill is shown on the 1795 Samuel Lewis map of North Carolina, a portion of which is printed in this volume. Forty miles from Bethabara will bring you to the Uwharrie River near Farmer in Randolph County.

the road east out of Bethabara as the road to the Cape Fear, but only one.[300] Every other one calls the southern route out of Wachovia the Cape Fear Road, and the eastern route the Deep River Road. There are four salient points that must be made concerning this.

One, The Deep River was indeed one of the two rivers that merged to form the Cape Fear, the other one being the Haw, and both the Deep River and Cape Fear roads merged before reaching Cross Creek (Fayetteville). Yet, according to the early land grant records of the present Moore County, then part of Cumberland, the Cape Fear Road, i.e., the more westerly one, traveled through the earliest land grants of the area, clearly suggesting that it was the earlier road. Two, the Cape Fear Road is also shorter by about ten miles than the Deep River Road, and then as now, speed in travel was always more desirable: wouldn't the Moravians want to take the shorter route? Three, this last fact precludes which route the Moravians took: the southern Cape Fear Road, not the Deep River Road, only the first being of that length. Four, this entire discussion is indeed moot, for by the clear word of the Moravian Diaries, no matter which one was the real Cape Fear Road, *there was still only forest between the end of the road and Bethabara*, and even if they had started out toward the east, the Deep River Road turned south even before reaching the edge of the Wachovia Tract, running in a direction which would take one to either Cross Creek or Salisbury. As is then clear from this, there was no road at the time running in that direction from Wachovia. All of the implications of this, concerning the Abbott's Creek Settlement that the roads had to pass through, will be examined in full later in this chapter.

Adam Spach, Edward Sweeting, and the Cape Fear Road

As stated, the fourth factor in this claim is the existence of the Moravian maps by Gottlieb Reuter, and their depiction of a north to south route called the *King's Road to Salisbury*, which of course would lend some credence to the claim. The explanation of the problem with it is rather long and involved, involving several places and people surrounding the Wachovia Tract, an explanation that will be fully explored in the next few pages. The answers to the questions raised by the second factor will also be found here.

The first and most important thing that should be sought is a record of such a route from any legitimate source. The Moravian Diaries are accordingly obliging, the first mention of any north-south road through Wachovia being in a running narrative of the period from 14 August to 18 November 1754:

> *Another stranger, here on Sept. 19, was Adam Spach from the Manakesy in Pennsylvania. He lives three miles from our [southern] line, and says he settled as near as possible so that he might attend our services. To that end he has cut a road from his house to ours.*[301]

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[300] Manly Wellman got much historical documentation for the roads of the Wachovia Tract right, despite what I have previously said, and what I will say again, about his book. This is one such place.

[301] Fries, *Records*, p. 109. The chief Monocasy Creek is a tributary of the Potomac, arising near York, Pennsylvania. A second was a tributary of the Lehigh River, entering it at Bethlehem; the first is probably the one mentioned here, though Moravians lived at both places, and both were mentioned at various times in the Diaries (see next footnote).

Adam Spach (1720-1801), a farmer and tailor, originally lived in the Monocasy Creek Valley, not far from the Monocasy Trail:

> *Spach . . .was in Graceham, Maryland, when Nathaniel Seidel and the three others who had accompanied the settling party to Wachovia stopped there en route back to Pennsylvania. Spach talked with the Brethren about the prospects of his settling in North Carolina, and in May of 1754 he and his wife settled near the Wachovia boundary.*[302]

Spach had moved to present Davidson County, his 259 acre property lying on both sides of the present Miller Creek (at that time called Spach's Creek after him), the first creek to be crossed on N. C. Highway 150 south of the Forsyth County line. In 1774 Spach built a story-and-a-half rock house, 30 by 36 feet:

> *May 16 [1774]. Spach today began work on his new house.*[303]

> *Oct. 31. The masons have finished their work on Spach's new house.*[304]

Adam Spach's was one of only three 18th century rock houses in the area and a house regrettably no longer standing; the others were the Jack Martin rock house in Stokes County, built 1770-85, also a ruin, and the 1758-1766 Michael Braun House in Granite Quarry south of Salisbury, also called the Old Stone House, both the oldest and the only one yet extant. Like Henry Banner in the Town Fork Settlement north of Wachovia, Spach was a firm friend of the Moravians, even to the point of organizing the South Fork Society of Brethren, now Friedburg Moravian Church. The Diary even records the probable catalyst for Spach's attempt to organize the new congregation:

> *Adam Spach was here Dec. 22 [1754], and asked that one of us would come each Sunday and preach at his house, but we could not do this for him.*[305]

The South Fork Society of Brethren became a reality by December 1759, and received the name Friedburg in 1771.

The only road running north to south between the South Fork Settlement and Bethabara at the time was Spach's road, later incorporated into the *Cape Fear Road* and appearing on every map that the Moravian surveyor and cartographer Philip Christian Gottlieb Reuter (1717-1777) made of Wachovia. This account of the Cape Fear Road must be presented to clear up some misconceptions concerning the Wagon Road, but must also remain as brief as possible, for the road is the subject of Volume

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[302] Griffin, Frances, in a comment on the story, *The Long, Muddy Road To Muddy Creek*, by John Thom Spach, the first story in *The Three Forks of Muddy Creek, Vol. III*, ed. Frances Griffin, Old Salem Incorporated, Winston-Salem, 1976, p. 10; hereafter called "Griffin, *Three Forks*," subsequent volumes by numeral. Note that Spach was in Maryland, not Pennsylvania, as stated in the Diaries.

[303] Fries, *Records II*, p. 838.

[304] Fries, *Records II*, p. 839.

[305] Fries, *Records*, p. 113.

Two of this future three volume set.

If one judges by the early entries in the Diaries concerning it, it would seem that at first this "road" was only a footpath or horse trail, because a Diary entry for 8 March 1755 reads in part:

> *Christensen and Kobus*[306] *made several trips in the earlier part of the month, looking for stone from which millstones might be made. They finally selected some about ten miles away, near the South Fork, on our land. A road was cut to the place, and on March 15, the wagon took . . . provisions, and other needful things. The Middle Fork*[307] *was much swollen by rain but was crossed in safety, and the wagon returned that evening.*[308]

The main factor to consider in this passage is the location of that quarry, which is made clear in an entry dated 26 June 1755:

> *Five brethren with ten horses went to bring in the mill stones from Sweeten's place.*[309]

This passage resoundingly confirms the location of Sweeting's land, near South Fork Creek in the extreme southern part of Forsyth County (it being indeed 10 miles from Bethabara), and therefore, by clear implication, the route of the road. This road, therefore, was widened into a wagon road only between 8 and 15 March 1755. According to all of Reuter's maps of Wachovia, all drawn between 1758 and his death in 1777, it was the same road as that to Spach's house, almost three miles southwest of Sweeting's.

These questions must then be asked: one, if a north-south road had already existed in the area of Edward Sweeting's house before 17 November 1753, as has been claimed,[310] why would Adam Spach, who lived only about three miles from there, and presumably on the same road, have had to cut a road at all? It seems logical to assume that, had the road existed, he would simply have taken that existing road straight to Bethabara, since it would have led either through or very near it. And two, if a *waggon road* ran by Sweeting's house, why did the Moravians have to cut a road--presumably for a wagon (see above)--to the quarry near his place?

Additionally, one must take into account the statement of the Moravian Brethren on their way south in 1753, that the Hickey Store would be the closest place they could buy salt. Just as the settlers of the Bryant's Settlement would have been far closer to Salisbury or the Fourth Creek Settlement--and therefore the Trading Path--than to the Smith River near present Martinsville, so would the Moravians, *had there been a road running in that direction*. The Bryant's Settlement did have such a road: Sherrill's Path, probably cut from the Shallow Ford through the Fourth Creek Settlement to Sherrill's

[306] Hans Christoph Christensen, the first miller for Wachovia, and Jacobus van der Merk.

[307] Later called Salem Creek. This spot was just south of new I-40, and not far from where it crosses the creek.

[308] Fries, *Records*, p. 125. The three forks of Muddy Creek were "Dorothea" or Muddy Creek, the "Wach" or Middle Fork, now Salem Creek, and "Ens" or South Fork Creek.

[309] Fries, *Records*, p. 132.

[310] Two of these were major claims: one, in "Transportation and Communication", Volume Four of *Winston-Salem in History*, published by Historic Winston in 1976; and two, Mr. Lefler's.

Ford in 1747, and possibly the Irish Ford Road to the future Salisbury, which was not yet made into a wagon road.[311] Wachovia clearly did not. Also of significance is Bishop Spangenburg's statement that there was *no road that a man can use* to get to the Roanoke River, meaning there was no road to Wachovia except from the north, which clearly became a major catalyst for the Moravians to cut roads from Wachovia.

Yet another passage in the Diaries conveys some necessary information concerning the very existence of Salisbury:

> *March 16 [1754]. Two Brethren went a mile and a half away to get pine branches for burning tar water. At noon Mr. Haltem and two others stopped on their way to Court, which will be held thirty miles from here next week.*[312]

> *March 24. Sunday. Mr. Haltam and another man stopped on their return from Court, and had much to tell about how confused everything was there.*[313]

The very fact that the name of Salisbury is not mentioned here demonstrates that it did not yet exist. At the time of a county's founding, it was a more or less settled rule that the first court would be held in the home of the most substantial citizen living somewhere near the center of the county, whether by area or by population. The Trading Camp Settlement was the most densely populated area of the new county of Rowan at the time, and the Trading Path was the most heavily traveled road of the North Carolina backcountry. It seems eminently logical that the court would be held somewhere in that area. But the fact of the matter is that it merely gives the distance to the court, without giving that court a name, and that there was much confusion present at that particular court. This fact strongly suggests, perhaps first among several possibilities, that communication between the widely scattered areas of settlement in the new county was not what it could or should have been, lending plausibility to the claim that there was as yet no road from the northern parts of the county to the future Salisbury, except perhaps, as previously stated, from the Bryant's Settlement, which was not yet a wagon road. The known fact that areas of settlement as widely scattered as the Dan River Settlement (Madison, in Rockingham County), the New Garden Settlement (Guilford College, in Guilford County), and the Fourth Creek Settlement (Statesville, in Iredell County), were all in Rowan County at the time, illustrates that communication had to have been a major problem. The fact that it took William Haltham eight days to travel sixty miles, with probably only one day in court, brings into very serious question whether there was even much of a path, the rate of travel being only 8.5 miles per day; or if he was at court for two days, 10 miles per day. Haltham, traveling at that rate, would have gotten at the farthest only down to Edward Sweeting's for the first night after leaving Bethabara, which seems logical, the new wagon road to the quarry near Sweeting having been finished at the latest only the day before he left for court.

Another question that logically arises from this fact, and which echoes the previous

[311] It was authorized to be made into a wagon road in 1763.

[312] Fries, *Records*, p. 98. Salisbury is about thirty-five miles by road from Bethabara.

[313] Fries, *Records*, p. 99.

point, is why Bishop Spangenberg mentioned all of the places that he did, while he was helping Churton survey the Wachovia Tract. Part of what he wrote, as previously noted, was:

> *A road is being built from here to a Landing, to which goods can be brought in boats from Cape Fear, and then be hauled further into the country. It is said to be about 150 miles to this Landing, 350 miles to Edenton, and 19 miles to the nearest mill.*[314]

By virtually all contemporary accounts, Bishop Spangenburg was a very exacting chronicler, always chose his words very carefully, and attempted to inspire action on the part of both himself and others by them. Based on this, it seems very logical to assume that unless he meant these words to be a catalyst for cutting roads to those various places, there was no need for him to write them. By this wording, these roads obviously didn't exist when he wrote of them in his Journal. Also, it seems equally logical to assume that, even if the Bishop hadn't written them, once the other Moravians arrived in Wachovia, they would have quickly realized the need for those roads themselves.

The Jersey, Abbott's Creek, and New Garden Settlements

Additionally, two land grants have been used to support this claim, one of course being that of Edward Sweeting, the other that of Henry Harmon dated 23 Feb. 1762, *on both sides of Abbott's Creek and both sides of the waggon road.*[315] The Harmon--or Herrman--family, however, is mentioned in both the Moravian Diary and Rowan Deed Books as resident in the *Abbott's Creek Settlement*, now the area between Lexington and Thomasville. This settlement lay astride four roads,[316] the first clearly being the Trading Path, which passed just south of Lexington, and is now partially North Carolina Highway 47. The second was the Shallow Ford to Cape Fear Road of 1755, which passed near Pilgrim Reformed Church--of c. 1754 to 1757--about three miles northeast of downtown Lexington.[317] Near the church, the Cape Fear Road crossed; three, the *Jersey-New Garden Road*, now more or less Old Greensboro Road, from the Trading Path in the Jersey Settlement, now called Linwood, through present Lexington to the New Garden Settlement, now Guilford College. The Shallow Ford-Cape Fear Road and the Jersey-New Garden Road would have taken one from the Wachovia Tract to just east of present Lexington, then through Lexington and down to the Trading Path just south of there, those three roads probably being the route the Brethren took to Salisbury in 1756. Farther to the northeast the Jersey-New Garden Road crossed another one from Bethabara--now more or less Indiana Avenue and Liberty Street, and partially buried beneath Smith Reynolds Airport--called the *Deep River Road*. The two roads crossed just west of William Buie's Ordinary, a tavern and hostelry of the New Garden Settlement, built by Buie in 1751, and probably its earliest

[314] See n. 224, p. 59.

[315] Map and grant provided by William Bennett, from original in Archives, Raleigh.

[316] All four roads are depicted on Collet 1770 and Mouzon 1775, and two of them on all Moravian maps.

[317] This author is descended from Peter Eberhard, now spelled Everhart, an early settler of the Pilgrim Community of the Abbott's Creek Settlement.

structure. The ordinary was so important an establishment that it is shown on both the 1770 Collet and 1775 Mouzon maps (as "Bewes Ordinary"). Incredibly, this old building still stands just inside the Guilford County line, on Sandy Ridge Road just east of the Deep River. The decrepit nature of this old structure is very sad to see, and one can only wish that it could somehow be repaired. The Deep River Road paralleled and eventually merged with the Cape Fear Road, in present Hoke County between Carthage and Fayetteville.[318] The fourth main road of this settlement was called the *Abbott's Creek Road*, now partially Hickory Tree Road of northern Davidson County, which was the road from the ford mentioned in Sweeting's grant, and was also the road by the Harmon property, bound for the Deep River Road south of present High Point. This grant to Harmon, therefore, cannot be used to support the claim, for it clearly lay on a road that did not lead to the Trading Ford at all.[319]

The North-South route and the "Bethabara Mill Road"

Another piece of evidence from the Diary can also be marshalled against this claim and two others, both of them to be examined later, as well as supporting yet another claim. The Moravian Diary records the minutes of the Moravian *Helfers Conferenz*--the Ministers' Conference--of 22 September 1772. One of the things the Conference did at that time was to divide up the care of the roads within Wachovia according to the population of each town, with the care of some few roads beyond its borders, usually though to the Moravian outlots in various places around the Tract. One of the roads duly assigned to the people of Bethania was the one which ran *from Heinrich Benner* [RKS-Henry Banner] *to the Bethabara Mill Road - 7 miles.*[320] By the wording in this passage, the *Bethabara Mill Road* obviously ran from the Grassy Creek crossing of the King's Road--which was precisely seven miles from Henry Banner's--south to the Bethabara Mill, something over a half mile downstream from Bethabara on Mill Creek, thence up Midkiff and Reynolda to where the original route of Old Town Drive--at that time called the Salisbury Road--intersects it. It will immediately be noticed, by reference to these Reuter maps, that the Bethabara Mill Road is the one that should be called the King's Road if the north-south claim is true, for it connects directly with the *King's Road to Salisbury*, now Reynolda Road.

Problems with "Transportation and Communication"

Also, as stated earlier, Manly Wellman routed the Wagon Road from Grassy Creek south to the present Reynolda Road, and thence south on the King's Road to Salisbury, which would obviously mean that it ran by the Bethabara Mill and thence south to the present Reynolda Road, Stratford Road, and points south to present Highway 150 and Salisbury. Yet he also stated that the road joined the settlers along the Yadkin River with both Virginia and Salisbury before the Moravians arrived in 1753. As stated earlier, though, Salisbury did not exist officially as a town before 11 February 1755, and the King's Road to Salisbury was approximately fifteen miles from

[318] The author has seen an "Historical Map of Moore County, 1747 to 1847", clearly based on Collet 1770, Mouzon 1775, and modern maps that demonstrate this, but unfortunately has no copy of it.

[319] Documentation taken from several Moravian maps and the John Collet map of 1770; Collet map: Cumming, *Maps*, Plate VII.

[320] Fries, *Records II*, p. 704.

the Shallow Ford, with the settlers of the Bryant's Settlement roughly clustered around it, but mainly on the west side of the river. Therefore, if Mr. Wellman's claim for the Great Wagon Road is true, this road would have to have connected settlers fifteen miles away from it with a town that did not yet exist. The illogic of this is highlighted further by the fact that, even had another road joined the Salisbury Road with the Bryant's Settlement,[321] by using it they would have traveled about 45 or 50 miles to go to Salisbury, 30 miles away.

Christian Fry, George Reed, and the Salisbury Road

There are two crowning pieces of evidence in regard to this claim, though, that demolish it completely: one, the Moravian Diary entry of 30 January 1764;[322] and two, the documents of the Rowan County Court of Common Pleas and Quarterly Sessions (Book 2, page 460; 15 April 1763). The Diary entry reads thus:

> *Jan. 30. The last court having confirmed the new King's Highway from here to Salisbury, six of the Brethren, with a wagon, went to open it between the Middle and South Forks to our line. With them went Br. Holder, Road-inspector for our Parish.*

This passage in the Moravian Diaries is rather simple and straightforward, admitting of virtually no doubt that this was a road that was just being *cut*, rather than *improved*, as confirmed by the word *open*, naturally carrying the connotation of it not existing beforehand. Manly Wellman again commented in his book on this passage in the Diaries, though, stating that:

> *The end of their first decade in the area saw them established as a trading center, and in 1763 they petitioned the Legislature for a rerouted "King's road" from Bethabara to the county seat at Salisbury. Probably this only meant improvement and some rerouting of the old road they had found ten years before. The improved road was in service by 1764.*
>
> *RM, I, 271, 281, 285. The rerouted segment of the King's Road may be seen on Wachovia 1766B. The new part was the eastern fork leading south out of Wachovia bearing the name "King's Road to Salisbury."*[323]

The biggest mistake Mr. Wellman made was to use modern definitions of words, not realizing the contemporary Moravian use of them. Clearly, the Brethren did not say that this was an improvement of an older road, again demonstrated by the use of the typical word *new*, meaning *first*, and obviously the most important word in this passage of the Diary, along with the word *open*. No one can claim from this that there was an old road from Wachovia to the Trading Ford before this date. Also, as demonstrated by a comparison of the 1759 and 1766 maps of Wachovia, the older road was the Cape

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[321] One such road would, incredibly, be the Wagon Road, as this volume lays out. Another would be the Salem to Shallow Ford Road, not cut until 1772. In either case, the reasoning behind Wellman's claim is faulty.

[322] Fries, *Records*, p. 285.

[323] Wellman, *Transportation*, p. 4; the footnote is on p. 43.

Fear Road, which traveled near the present Lexington, and joined the Trading Path south of there, as stated previously.

Another thing to notice in Mr. Wellman's passage here is the phrase *some rerouting of the old road.* A comparison of the same maps shows that the rerouting was the *entire route* of Salisbury Road from approximately where Darwick Road intersects it to the south, the remains of the original road still to be seen between Darwick Road and South Fork Creek, and located by this author. This original Cape Fear Road crosses the new road again in the area of present Arcadia but never again does it do so, according to all the subsequent Moravian maps and the Collet 1770 and Mouzon 1775 maps.

But the thing that finally kills this claim is the abstract for the road order:

> *On the petition of the inhabitants of Bethabra and Bethany [Bethania] its Ordred that A road may be laid off from Bethabra by Christian Fry's plantation, thence the neighest and best way, to ye Yadkin foard Ordred that Avington Phelps, Gersham Hunt, Christian Fry, John Miller, Adam Spaugh, Edward Dias, Thos. Foster, James Smith, Geo Reed, Henry Dowland, Jas McCoy, Orter Jegle be Appointed jurors to Lay out Sd Road Accordingly and that they Appear upon Notice & be Quallified before the Nearest Majistrate for the faithfoel Discharge of their Office.*[324]

There are many things of significance to this claim that must be noticed in this road order. Perhaps the first--at least, it was the first one that I noticed--is that it was by *petition of the inhabitants of* Bethabara and Bethania,[325] both of which towns would be served by this road. The question must then be asked: *Why would the Moravians request a road to be laid off, if it already existed?* The obvious answer to this rhetorical question is that it didn't already exist. The *Yadkin foard* was the ford that crossed the island that the Trading Ford was just south of, less than a quarter-mile away. The Trading Path went to both fords, according to two of North Carolina's colonial maps, the John Collet map of 1770 and the Henry Mouzon map of 1775. Christian Fry's farm, according to the Reuter maps of 1766 and later, lay on both sides of present Frye's Creek, the second creek south of the Forsyth County line on Highway 150. As can be immediately seen, two of the names mentioned as being on the jury for the road, i. e., authorized to first help lay off, and then care for a section of it near his home, were Christian Fry and George Reed, the latter of which lived and operated a tavern at a place now named for him, Reed's Cross Roads, on U. S. Highway 64 west of Lexington.[326] There was at that time and is now only one road running between Fry and Reed: Highway 150. The Diary records the date of the actual cutting of that road,

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[324] Linn, Jo White, *Abstracts of the Minutes of the Court of Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1763-1774*, Salisbury, 1983, p. 7; hereafter called 'Linn, *Court Abstracts, Vol. II* '. The text is printed the way it appears in the original road order.

Some of the others in this road order are also known: Avington Phelps lived west of this road near the Yadkin; John Miller lived in the South Fork Settlement, near Friedburg Church Road; Adam Spaugh (Spach) lived about a mile southwest of Friedburg Church, the ruins of his 1774 Rock House still in the woods there.

[325] The phrase strengthens my belief that this road order is very near the date the road was actually cut, unlike many others: the initiative was still with the people, with the government behind the curve on virtually everything.

[326] Reed's Tavern was visited by President George Washington on his Southern Tour in 1791, and the rock he ate on is now a monument to that fact across Highway 150 from Reeds Elementary School, just north of the tavern site.

these two facts destroying any idea that this could be the Great Wagon Road.

The French and Indian War, the Great Valley Road, and western settlements, Part One

The north-south route through Wachovia is not the only claim made concerning the Wagon Road, of course. The remaining four main claims for the route all have various similarities, two of them being that they all begin at Germanton, and all end at the Shallow Ford. But there are even greater differences, based on varying degrees of documentary support. Much of this history also involves other roads, centered mainly on the French and Indian War, 1754-1763. The historical interconnectedness of all the backcountry settlements from; one, *Cow Heaven*, now the area around Chester, Greenville, and Spartanburg, South Carolina; two, *Fourth Creek Settlement*, with Fort Dobbs, now the area around Statesville; three, the *Irish* or *Second Creek Settlement*, John Knox's home, now Cleveland; and four, the *Trading Camp Settlement*, now Salisbury; to five, the *Wachovia Tract*; six, the *Bryant's Settlement*, now the area around Huntsville, Farmington, and Mocksville; and seven, the *Great Valley Road*, is a fascinating study, and one which is very involved. It is a story that cannot be explained in just a few words, even though it is explored here only in as brief a form as can be.

Two other claims concerning the Wagon Road route it through Germanton, founded 1790; Rural Hall, 1895; and Bethania, founded 12 June 1759 as a joint *Moravians and friends* town during the French and Indian War. This route for the Wagon Road (apparently) was commemorated by the placement of a North Carolina State Historical Marker on Bethania-Rural Road in Bethania in 1976. The route travels down or parallels it and Highway 65 through all three towns, with several grants and deeds from the early 1760's, the late 1770's, and the early 19th century also having been used in support of it. Local history of the French and Indian War, the Regulator War of North Carolina (1766-1771), and the Revolution are also of significance here.

The "Historical Map of Forsyth County" and the Wagon Road

The first one is based on the Historical Map of Forsyth County, which was produced by the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Bicentennial Commission in 1975, and routes the Road exactly down Bethania-Rural Hall and Highway 65 through the three towns, then exactly down Transou Road, Skylark Drive, Kecoughtan Road, Yadkinville Highway (Old 421), Lewisville-Vienna Road, and Shallow Ford Road, crossing the river exactly at the present West Bend-Huntsville bridge.

Of the five main claims made for the route of the Great Wagon Road in Forsyth County, this one has less support from the historical record than any of them. As can be seen immediately, some of these roads on their present routes are datable only to the early 20th century, and have no historical significance at all at the present time, though perhaps they will in years to come, though even then they could have no applicability to any 18th century road, particularly one as significant as the Great Wagon Road. For instance, the first West Bend-Huntsville bridge on Shallow Ford Road was built in 1920, with the real Shallow Ford actually something over a half-mile south of it. The present Highway 65 through Rural Hall does not appear on any Forsyth County map until C. M. Miller's of 1907, not even on one by A. F. Dean,

produced only three years earlier. Skylark Drive and Kecoughtan Road also do not appear on their present routes until the same year. In addition, the Map depicts Lord Cornwallis' army marching into Bethania from the northwest, along roads that didn't follow these depicted routes until the 19th century, and some at least partially unconstructed until the early part of *this* century. The General is also depicted as having traveled down the *Old Salem Bypass*, a road not built until 1956--175 years too late--and with thousands of people, this author included, remembering its construction. At the time of Lord Cornwallis's march through Salem, had he followed the route of the Old Salem Bypass, he would have been marching through vegetable gardens and jumping over fences. Many more things than these can be cited,[327] but frankly, there is no need to do so. The cartographic and documentary evidence one needs to prove that this map depicts the original route of the Great Wagon Road, or almost anything else of historical interest in Forsyth County with very few exceptions, is entirely non-existent, and the map serves only to cloud true historical inquiry. This map is, except perhaps as a prime example of historical laziness, frankly, fit only for the flames.

The "Germanton- Rural Hall-Bethania route" and the Rural Hall Contingent

Criteria for the "Rural Hall route"

The second similar route, however, has none of these problems. The people who supported this route were some whose testimony was used to create the Historical Map and place the Historic Marker in Bethania, but their own route was based on some genuine deeds and land grants from as early as 1762, as well as the dramatic remains of a genuinely old road on the ground itself in the Germanton to Rural Hall area. The historical truth concerning it, though, is ironic to the extreme, involving both historical and political assumptions of both the 18th century and today. The stories concerning the settlers surrounding the proof for the true route are also of great interest to this inquiry, and because of its involved nature taking most of the rest of this chapter.

The criteria used to claim this route is the Great Wagon Road are four. One, the route--supposedly--was originally an Indian trail from the Davis or Pitzer's Ford on the Dan to the Shallow Ford on the Yadkin--supported by the known presence of Indian towns at both places--but the claim was actually based on the Indian ancestory of some claimants.[328] Two, this road through the future Rural Hall was supposedly the *old road* that was replaced by the *new road* of the Moravians, spoken of in the Diaries. Three, the Moravians were thieves who stole the Wachovia Tract from the original owners. Four, the Moravians were Loyalists during the Revolution, who should therefore have lost the Tract due to the Confiscation Act. This continual belittling and demonization of the Moravians is a factor that is very consequential in this inquiry.

Caveat: The Great Wagon Road of 1747

The first thing that must be said of this claim, and its impact on the historical

[327] Two of those things are: Douthit's Ferry, dated c. 1760 on the map, the road was actually cut in 1765; Salisbury Road, dated 1770, actually cut in 1764.

[328] Intriguingly, most of the Stokes County section of this track actually was the Great Wagon Road.

research concerning the Wagon Road in Forsyth County, is that there is no evidence that has currently been found for any road from the future Germanton to the Shallow Ford before the Moravian road of 18-20 February 1754. That being said, the question must be asked: *How did the first settlers of the Yadkin valley get from Virginia south?* It must be remembered that the Moravians, on their journey south in 1753, mentioned that the Morgan Bryant party, five years earlier, had used a wagon to travel south from the Shenandoah valley.[329] Additionally, the Adam Sherrill family probably widened the original Indian trail from the Catawba to the Shallow Ford into Sherrill's Path in order to use wagons on it. Where did the road go from there to the Virginia line? The answer has been and still is shrouded in mystery, for this was the very beginning of European settlement in the area, and very few and far between are the official records. It must be remembered here, in 1747 the Yadkin and Catawba valleys were in *Bladen County*. As a result, considering the inadequacy of the records--records that are probably not so much lost, as never having been made--I cannot believe we will ever find the definitive answer.

A plausible hypothesis, though, has been offered by my friend Rod Meyer, director of Historic Bethabara Park, over the course of several years:

> *There were settlers in the area of the Wachovia Tract before the arrival of the Moravians, but it is not necessary to assume that there were wagon roads for them to travel on. Rather, once they passed through the rugged, constricting mountains by using the Upper Pennsylvania, or Bryant's, Road and descended out of the foothills, they probably traveled across country just as Bishop Spangenberg's exploratory party did in the fall and winter of 1752-53.*[330]

The plausibility of this scenario is immediately apparent. Considering the fact that this, as previously stated, was the beginning of settlement, one would not expect to find any real roads through the backcountry, as it had been abandoned as a settled area by the Indians at least twenty years before this time; and of course the Indians never cut any real roads, having no wagons to use on them.

So, what does that mean to this investigation into the route of the Great Wagon Road in Forsyth County, as we currently use the term? Is there possibly any truth to the claim that the *original* road traveled through the future Rural Hall and Bethania to the Shallow Ford before the Moravians cut their road in 1754? Can the Contingent be right in their assesment?

An intriguing suggestion concerning this claim is connected with the German lad the Brethren met at the Davis Ford on the Dan. According to the Diary, as previously noted, he lived on the Yadkin River, and had been to Hickey's Store for salt. As stated before, many Germans lived in the area of the Trading Camp Settlement, even at that early date, possibly suggesting that some kind of road connected the Trading Ford with the Smith River. It would also clearly suggest a connection with the Shallow Ford, which would, therefore, suggest a proto-Great Wagon Road. This of course lends

[329] See n. 255 and 256, page 66.

[330] Meyer, John Rodney, *The Germanton - Rural Hall - Bethania Road to the Shallow Ford*, unpublished booklet, May 1992.

some additional credence to the claim of the Rural Hall Contingent.

Frankly, though, I don't believe that we will ever find any evidence of a *road* from that early date in the northern Piedmont of North Carolina. The *beginning* of settlement implies the lack of roads, until the settlers began to get more acquainted with the area. Of course, that does not mean that the original settlers of the Sherrill's and Bryant's settlements could not have used the *route* of the Rural Hall road--just as they were not precluded from using virtually any route they chose, so long as they got to where they wanted to go--and it also does not preclude the existence of an Indian *path*, a claim to be examined later in this chapter, and also a claim made by the Contingent. But this raises the question concerning the Moravian need to go to the Hickey Store on the Smith River in Virginia for the salt they needed, as examined earlier in this chapter. There was no need for any settlers from the Bryant's Settlement and points south to go anywhere near the Smith River to get the supplies they needed, they being far closer to the Trading Path, and were also connected by Sherrill's Path to it. They *may* have used the future Rural Hall route, but I'm one of many that have a very hard time finding *any* incontrovertible evidence for that claim, it having been grounded in what seems to be not evidence, but emotion and unfounded innuendo.

Another thing that should be remembered is that in the beginning of settlement, many of the settlers did not use wagons to transport their goods, but used pack horses. The use of pack horses would, of course, eliminate the need for wagons on the so-called "roads" they followed, and solves all the problems of how to account for people arriving in a newly settled area without the need for a real road at all. There is one thing that can bring this into perspective: one large instance of this is that *no wagon traveled through the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky until 1796*, when the Valley Road from Fort Chiswell was made into a road suitable for wagons, and renamed the Wilderness Road.

Ironies of the Rural Hall route, Part One

Ironically, the first thing used in support of this Rural Hall route by the Contingent is the land grant to Jacob Lash of Bethabara--a Moravian!--for the 700 acre tract that Germanton now stands on, dated 17 March 1762. That *is* an early date, and to many who are somewhat lax in their investigation it would provide proof of the truth of the claim, but when its date is compared with that of the official letter from Francis Corbin to William Churton to survey land on Buffalo Creek south of the future Germanton for Henry Banner, 3 March 1752, the claim of a more northerly route for the Wagon Road cannot stand, of course because of this settlement to the south of that road of ten years beforehand. Every map of the day, from the Moravian maps by Gottlieb Reuter--from 1758 to 1773--to the Collet 1770 and Mouzon 1775 maps, show the Wagon Road running south along Buffalo Creek and therefore through the old Banner farm just north of Wachovia.

Yet another factor to account for is the very Moravian Diary the Rural Hall group claims in support of their position, of the Brethren's journey south from Bethlehem in 1753. As previously stated, the Diary clearly indicates that the *new road* began at Town Fork Creek, and that would mean that any road south of it, *their road included*, would

have had to have been a new road. This, it must be said, confirms there was no *old* road south of Town Fork Creek, as opposed to the *new* road cut for the Moravians, a claim already answered sufficiently, and now resoundingly.

An interesting sidebar to this discussion, and one which confirms my point even more (as if it needed to be), is the Contingent's claim concerning Peter Feiser, supposedly a hunter and trapper that built a cabin south of present Rural Hall in 1745, which now forms the back wing of the Flynt house just off Old Hollow Road. This claim was accompanied by another, that Old Hollow Road dates only to the mid-19th century. Both claims presumably mean that the original Bethania-Rural Hall Road, which traveled south about the same distance west of the Flynt house as Old Hollow Road is to its east, was the only road through Rural Hall for many years, and therefore is the Great Wagon Road (its remains exist in the woods west of the Flynt house, and east of the present Rural Hall-Bethania Road). This claim was actually picked up and printed in Gwynne Taylor's book, "From Frontier to Factory", the architectural history book for Forsyth County:

> *According to local tradition, the log rear ell of the Flynt House was built in 1745 by a hunter and trapper named Peter Feiser. The 1745 date is difficult to document architecturally. Peter Feiser is, however, mentioned in the diaries of the Moravians, and his land is shown on a 1779 map of Wachovia in the vicinity of what is now the Flynt farm.*[331]

This also seems to me to have been inspired by the desire of the Contingent to find anything to suggest someone other than the Moravians were the "original owners" of Wachovia, and that the Moravians had illegally dispossessed them. The ironic thing about this, though, is the very fact that the Moravian Diaries do mention Peter Feiser:

> *June 5 [1769]. Three families arrived from Pennsylvania, the older and younger Schulz Brethren from Hebron, with their wives, and the two small children of the younger couple, and Christian Conrad with his wife; also a single man by the name of Feiser.*[332]

Significantly, this is 24 years after Peter Feiser had supposedly built the cabin. The 1771 Gottlieb Reuter map of the "East Part of Surrey County" also depicts him as living at that time in the Leinbach's Settlement, the 2000 acre tract in the northwest corner of Wachovia, at a spot about two miles west of the Flynt house, as seen on the reproduction of the map, #20 in the map section. That same map also shows a road running from the Rural Hall area south and then east toward the present Kernersville: Old Hollow Road, thus dated to 1771, not c. 1850. Additionally, the Feiser wing of the Flynt house faces east: to the east of the Flynt house is Old Hollow Road. These points

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[331] Taylor, Gwynne Stevens, *From Frontier to Factory, An Architectural History of Forsyth County*, North Carolina Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, with the Winston-Salem/Forsyth County Historic Properties Commission, 1981, p. 93; hereafter called 'Taylor, *Factory*.'

[332] Fries, *Records*, p. 391.

strongly suggest this *second* Feiser house was built c. 1775, not 1745.[333]

In another aside I think is warranted, yet another point is illustrated by this map that the Contingent bases so much of its claim on. Today Bethania-Rural Hall Road runs directly into downtown Bethania, and directly opposite Loesch's Lane, naturally suggesting that it continued straight down to Muddy Creek. However, the original maps of the area, including this Surry map, show the road opposite Loesch's Lane as being part of the original Bethabara Road, and therefore turning south, not north to the future Rural Hall. The road north to the Beaverdam Creek area, i. e., the original Bethania-Rural Road, runs off Bethania-Tobaccoville Road about a quarter-mile north of the present intersection, a road whose remains can still be seen in the woods beside the golf course of the Wedgewood development. Nor does the map depict this road crossing either Beaverdam or Grassy Creeks, especially the latter, as it would have to do if it traveled anywhere near the Feiser house.

The next--and last--point finally destroys the Contingent's claim regarding Peter Feiser. The Moravian Diaries record Feiser as having been a member of the Bethania congregation, and therefore a Moravian himself, not an "original owner" dispossessed by them, and his birthdate as having been in 1743.[334] Based on these documented facts, Peter Feiser could not have built that cabin in 1745, at the age of *two*! Its illogic is highlighted in that 1745 is a year before the King George's War militia muster, and therefore before Edward Moseley was sent to recruit settlers for Lord Granville, a year before Granville's Line was surveyed to Coldwater Creek, two years before the Sherrills ever came to the area and cut their Path from the Catawba to the Yadkin, and three years before the arrival of Morgan Bryant.

The French and Indian War, etc., Part Two

Robberies and Massacres

The history of the area from the Wachovia Tract and the Bryant's Settlement to the Great Valley of Virginia is also of great significance. In 1755 several massacres took place along the Great Valley Road, including Draper's Meadows, now Blacksburg, one of the signal events of that day.[335] Many from New River fled for their lives, including George Lash, Jacob and Herman Lash's younger brother. Stories of people connected with both areas, and what they tell us of the road system of the time, are very informative:

July 22 [1755]. A so-called Dunkard or Bearded Man came to the smithy. He has just come from New River with his entire family, fearing to remain there longer

[333] If one really wished to know the real age of the Feiser wing of the Flynt house, dendrochronology study of the tree rings of the floor joists would tell what year they were cut.

[334] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1923.

[335] The massacre led to increased governmental activity in the backcountry, leading eventually to Lord Dunmore's War of 1774, and greatly increased antagonism between Virginia and the mother country, among much else. The site of Colonel James Patton's house, who offered the only resistance to the Shawnee before being killed (butchering two Indians with his sword before being shot by the third), is now on the campus of Virginia Polytecnical Institute in Blacksburg.

because of the Indians, who are wandering about. Although his home was only about seventy miles from here the journey has taken them three weeks, as they had no other road to take than to the Roanoke. The man told us that some ten weeks ago a man named Stahlnekker, living on Holston River, about 100 miles from the New River Settlement, had been captured by the Indians, and his entire family murdered.[336]

The Indian trader Samuel Stalnaker had come south from Pennsylvania along the Great Valley Road, and settled on the South Fork of the Holston River in 1750, the deepest penetration of any settler in Indian areas, to trade with both Cherokee and Shawnee.[337] The Dunkard Fort was built in response to this threat, and located in Dunkard's Bottom, in present Pulaski County on the New River south of present Radford. As can be seen from these Diary entries, no road connected Wachovia to the New in 1755, the residents having to go to the Staunton Gap and catch the Wagon Road from there.

These trying times, as might be expected during wartime, were not seen only in the New River valley. The same day's entry in the Moravian Diary records a very frightening episode of the Banner family:

During our evening service Mr. Benner and one of his neighbors arrived. .looking for strayed horses. We gave them something to eat, and they went on home. About four o'clock in the morning the Brethren were awakened by a terrible crying, and when they investigated they found it was Mr. Benner, who was almost frantic. When he had reached home he had found his wife and four children gone, and that his house had been robbed; he had searched the nearby woods in vain, and then knew nothing else to do but to come back to us. We did our best to comfort the poor man, but in vain. As we were all up we now held our morning prayers, kneeling before our dear Heavenly Father, and beseeching his care and protection. The Texts for the day suited our circumstances wonderfully. This was the first time that at morning prayer we have used the trumpets, which the last company brought with them from Pennsylvania. At the close of the service Br. Loesch ordered the gun to be fired twice, and that the blowing of the trumpets be continued, so that if anyone was near it would be known that we were not asleep. .As the trumpets began again we heard a call, ran thither and found Mr. Benner's wife and four children; one child she carried on her back, another little one was in the arms of an older child. .We were overjoyed, hastily called Mr. Benner and when he came to his family they fell on each other's neck, and could not speak for weeping. We brought them into our house, full of sympathy for the poor people and their great joy. We gave them food, and when they had somewhat recovered their composure the wife told us what had happened. During the night, as she waited for her husband, the dogs had become very restless, and running toward the woods had returned howling. She went to see who

[336] Fries, *Records*, p. 133.

[337] Kincaid, *Road*, p. 45.

was there, and stones flew by her; then running into the house she took the children and hastened away. As she fled she saw three persons spring into the house, but did not know whether they were whites or Indians. So she and the children fled into the woods, and fortunately found their way hither, though they had never been here before... About eight o'clock Mr. Benner set out,. .partly to see how things were at the Benner home, and partly to warn the neighbors. When they reached the Benner place they found not much had been taken, so evidently the thieves had been frightened away by Mr. Benner's approach during the night. . . We divided the night watch, one Brother to watch until 1 AM and the other from then until dawn, instead of one man taking the entire night as heretofore.[338]

This passage proves that the King's Road or Wagon Road had become a much better road in the almost two years since the Moravians arrived (a fact about roads cut or maintained by the Moravians of the area that was increasingly noted by people over the ensuing years), and obviously even of benefit to one like Eleanor Banner, who clearly was unfamilar at the time with the route to Bethabara, though she did become increasingly familiar with it over the next several years, due to the Banner family taking refuge from time to time in the Bethabara Fort. Henry Banner, who remained a staunch friend of the Moravians for over thirty years, continued to have such exchanges noted in the Diaries until his death on 28 November 1789.

Other stories

William Owen and Israel Boone

A very intriguing thing, incidentally, happened on this same trip back to the Banner home, which clearly proved that the improvement of roads in the backcountry also had distressing consequences, and involving people other than Indians:

Br. Loesch and Lischer rode toward Mr. Altem's, but met William Owen, who told them that all the families on the Town Fork had moved away, etc. Hearing this Br. Loesch came home.[339]

Owen, incredibly, was the one that had met Bishop Spangenberg and William Churton and the rest of Spangenberg's and Churton's party three years previously, telling them of the existence of the as yet ungranted Wachovia Tract, when he was living just west of the present Wilkesboro,[340] and whose son had helped the Bishop survey the Wachovia Tract, a man the Moravians considered a friend. The truth of the matter in this instance, though, was that none of the Town Fork residents had yet moved away, and that William Owen had become a Highwayman, a fact that began to

[338] Fries, *Records*, pp. 134-135.

[339] Fries, *Records*, p. 135.

[340] See n. 214, p. 56. Owen's knob lies south of the river between Wilkesboro and the Kerr Scott dam on N. C. Highway 268, in the one mile between the eastern edge of the upper Moravian tract and the western edge of the lower tract.

be confirmed on July 31, eight days later.[341] As it would seem from this account, it was William Owen and his accomplices that had robbed the Banner cabin, and not Indians. Owen was later captured along with his compatriots, and hanged for both robbery and murder.[342]

Bethabara had set itself up as a real settlement, and one might also legitimately say a town, with virtually everything that it would need: tailor, gardener, potter, carpenter, minister, and doctor, reflecting the well-known German and Moravian trait of extreme thoroughness. Various people of course visited Bethabara at around this same time, for a variety of reasons: on their way to hunting in the mountains, sometimes to request the services of Rev. Adam Grube the minister, on various occasions for Hans Petersen the tailor, but most of the time to see Dr. Kalberlahn:

> *Aug. 26. A consumptive came with his mother, and asked to remain two weeks for treatment, and we could not refuse. We lodged him in the old house.*[343]

The Moravians were always happy to lend a hand to people in need, as this entry shows; indeed, Dr. Kalberlahn was most the selfless and tireless in his attention to the infirm for miles around. However, the consumptive's brother came to take him home four days later, prefering to care for him at home.

> *Sept. 1. The consumptive was taken home by his brother, who came for him last evening. He,--Mr. Boon,--returned on the 6th, accompanied by his father, who remained over night. On the 15th his brother came for him once more, and he left, there being small hope for his recovery.*[344]

The consumptive, Israel Boone, died not long afterward at the age of thirty, after having been cared for by his parents, Squire and Sarah Boone, and his younger brother, Daniel Boone.[345]

Wachovia, 1759

In an aside I think necessary, it having been hinted at here, I must turn to yet another aspect of life on the North Carolina frontier in the 1750's and '60's. Most other information concerning Dr. Hans Martin Kalberlahn is, as would naturally be expected, of a tragic nature, and illustrates that the Indians were not the only enemies the western settlements had. The Cherokee War, a part of the French and Indian War in the Carolinas and the future Tennessee, led great numbers of people in all of the colonies to seek shelters in communities and forts in central locations; Bethabara,

[341] Fries, *Records*, p. 135. The Moravians excused themselves from any comment on the charge at that time, but later came to realize it was true. Owen also later requested that his sons be bound as apprentices to the Moravians, but it wasn't acted on.

[342] Fries, *Records*, pp. 151, 161, 164.

[343] Fries, *Records*, p. 136.

[344] Fries, *Records*, p. 137.

[345] Rockenfield,Sarah Ridge, *Our Boone Families; Daniel Boone's Kinfolks*, Whipporwill Publications, Evansville, Ind., 1987, p. 373. Daniel Boone was probably this brother, because he later took care of the two orphaned sons of his late brother. He even named his own second son Israel after his brother. This second Israel Boone was later killed in the Battle of Blue Licks in Kentucky, the last battle of the American Revolution.

being such a place, was no exception. Rowan County was probably representative of others in the backcountry. Over half of the taxables during the War left Rowan County for either other counties or other colonies.[346] Others, who wished not to leave the area, gathered in places like the two forts at Bethabara, in order of course to be safe from the Indians. But virtually every action taken by people over the years, as has been demonstrated for millenia, always has a downside: the crowded conditions of the forts, with people from as far away as the New River, led to unsanitary living quarters, and the imminent threat of disease: there is nothing in this world that does not carry at least *some* small amount of risk to it. The most well-known of these early outbreaks is worth some attention:

> *Added to this in April was the unrest on account of the Indians, who began to murder in our neighborhood. On the day of the greatest terror among our neighbors, when many were hastening to us as though the enemy were at their heels, we had for our text "Safe is thy dwelling." By the 12th of May we had 120 refugees, whom we tried to comfort in body and soul, and to whom the Gospel was often preached.*[347]

> *The place for Bethania was selected, and laid out by Br. Reuter; and early in July eight married couples of our members were selected for that village, and to them were added eight families of refugees, . . . On July 18, as soon as our rich harvest was gathered, Br. and Sr. Grabs, and the other selected Brethren, moved from Bethabara to Bethania, as the Savior wished no time to be lost.*[348]

It seems really ironic that *the Savior wished no time to be lost*, because of what began happening soon afterward:

> *Just at this time sickness broke out among the Sisters which led to the departure of Sister Rogers on July 19th;*[349] *she being followed in the same month by Br. and Sr. Seidel,*[350] *Kalberlahn, and Erich Ingebretsen, by Lenzner in August, directly after his Choir Festival, and by Nagel, Wutke, Sr. Loesch [Herman's bride] and Heinrich Biefel in September. Fourteen others were so seriously ill, and suffered such great pain, that they and others thought their end had come, but the Lord of Life ruled otherwise, and they recovered. Twenty more were prostrated by the fever, but were not so critically ill; still others were less violently attacked. Not more than 19 passed through the summer unscathed.*[351]

> *Nov. 8. Several of our sick members are now free of fever, and are improving. There*

[346] Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 193.
[347] Fries, *Records*, p. 206. The two forts at Bethabara were never attacked by the Indians.
[348] Fries, *Records*, pp. 206-7.
[349] Jacob Rogers, Mary Rogers' husband, was the English Church Minister in Wachovia.
[350] Christian Seidel was a Moravian missionary.
[351] Fries, *Records*, p. 207.

is much of the fever which we have had throughout North Carolina and Virginia, and many have died.[352]

It was with this epidemic, years later confirmed as typhus fever, that the backcountry had to take leave of Dr. Hans Martin Kalberlahn, of all the departed the most sorely missed, especially by Anna Catherina his wife.[353] He died the day before their first anniversary, 28 July 1759. Many more such trials were to face Anna Catherina, the main character of "The Road to Salem," over the remaining years of her life. The story of Anna Catherina Antes Kalberlahn Reuter Heinzmann Ernst is one great song of faith, and will repay reading it many times over.

William Haltham

Also, both William Haltham and Edward Hughes continue to appear in the Diaries from time to time, as they both had from the creation of the Wachovia Tract. One such time was in early May 1756, both of them being mentioned prominently here:

May 18. Mr. Haltem came to see us, and reported that the Highwaymen captured some time ago have been condemned to the gallows;[354] *also that many people are again leaving their farms for fear of the Indians. Br. Jacob Loesch, who had ridden out early to get oil, came home in the evening and reported that he had met 11 Indians, who had a white woman with them. They wanted to take his horse and repeatedly ordered him to dismount, but he refused to do it. They asked him if he had rum in his keg which he had taken for the oil,--he said no, and struck the keg to show that it was empty. Then they told him again to dismount, he refused and said he needed the horse, that he could not travel afoot. They looked surly, and he then asked them whether they were hungry, and told them to come to his farm, twelve miles away, and he would fill them full of food. The white woman said he was a fool to tell them where he lived, that they would come and take everything he had. Then they went on their way and he on his, filled his keg, fed his horse, and set out on his return. On the way back he heard that the Indians had been to a farm and seized the horses and saddles, that they had taken Mr. Haltem's horse from him after he left us, and that Mr. Benner and all his family had fled, whereupon he came home at a gallop. After the evening services, having consulted with Br. Christian Henrich and Br. Hoffman, he called some of the Brethren together, told them what he had seen and heard, and that he thought we should be on our guard, and appointed them as a night watch here and at the mill. He also sent Br. Holder "Express" to our neighbor, Justice Edward Hughes, giving him a report of all that had occurred, and that the Indians were going in his direction.*

Next day Br. Holder returned bringing the thanks of Justice Hughes, and word that fifteen of the neighbors had already before he left gathered at the home of the

[352] Fries, *Records*, p. 214.

[353] It would be interesting to know if those who recovered, and those not so ill, had eaten moldy bread or other food: the mold *Penicillium* is the source for penicillin, a well-known antibiotic. Considering all things, they probably did.

[354] One of those was probably William Owen.

Justice to try to capture the Indians. At noon the Brn. Jac. Loesch and Kalberlahn went to see whether Mr. Benner had come home, but they met him, his wife, children and servant, coming to stay with us again for several days. He said that he and his family and servant had been in the corn-field, and the Indians had entered his house and taken the best clothing and all his money. His wife had met one of them, and he had run away, which encourages us to think that they are local Cherokees and not French or other strange Indians.

May 20. We hear that the Indians went to Justice Hughes, and behaved very politely,--probably because there were so many people there. When the Justice heard that they were Cherokees from the fort near Haw River, who had left there because of lack of food, he gave them plenty to eat, and sent them with a strong guard to another fort, seventy miles away.[355]

In response to this threat, the Brethren considered building a fort around the main buildings of Bethabara and at the mill, having stationed guards at both places; it also inspired William Johnson to build another fort around his house in what is now Clemmons in 1757, that square mile and the house on it purchased that very year from William Linville, Morgan Bryant's son-in-law, in present Tanglewood Park.[356] Their friend William Haltham, very conveniently, was in Salisbury at the same time as the Brethren, he to recover the horse stolen by the Cherokee, and they to have their separate parish confirmed.[357] Haltham and the Moravians returned home together. The first Bethabara Fort was finished in the latter part of July, Haltham, his family, and his slave aiding greatly in its construction.[358] They took shelter there in times of danger until he and his family seemingly followed their fears and left the Town Fork Settlement for Cow Heaven, South Carolina sometime later that year:

Sept. 23 [1756]. Mr. Haltem spent last night here. He used to be our neighbor, but because of the Indian troubles moved to Cow Heaven, so called because of its good pasturage.[359]

Edward Hughes: Legal and Illegal Matters

Because the Cherokee were heading in his direction, Edward Hughes was warned of their approach at the same time, and he and several others from the Bryant's Settlement intercepted them, thanking the Brethren greatly, and a few days later called the Brethren to Salisbury, this being the previously mentioned journey of the twelve

[355] Fries, *Records*, pp. 164-165.

[356] Johnson's house (previously William Linville's) and fort was on the hill opposite the Tanglewood Manor House; the site is now within one of the golf courses in the park. A new historical marker was placed in Tanglewood Park by the Linville family in October 1998, commemorating the settlement of William Linville at that place, a marker dedication this author attended. Other Linville tracts of that area were sold to Abraham Wilson (now the southern part of Tanglewood) and Evan Ellis (now Clemmons West), who came to the Clemmons area at about the same time as Johnson.

[357] Fries, *Records*, p. 167. The Wachovia Tract was officially designated as *Dobbs Parish*, named after Royal Gov. Arthur Dobbs.

[358] Fries, *Records*, p. 171.

[359] Fries, *Records*, p. 173.

men of the vestry to qualify Wachovia as a separate parish.[360] An intriguing and suggestive thing, though, was happening with Hughes at that same time: in October 1755 he was charged with misappropriation of public funds, a crime he was duly convicted of in early 1758. Astonishingly, at virtually the same time as his conviction for embezzling, he was also appointed Sheriff of Rowan County! This is one of the most unbelievable things recorded then that I believe I have ever read: the political operation of the day had to have been very strange indeed to have permitted a duly charged and convicted embezzler to be appointed county law enforcement officer and tax collector. Hughes's sentence was suspended until he left office in late 1759,[361] being replaced as Sheriff by Benjamin Milner:

> *David Jones was relieved of his duties in 1758 and replaced by Edward Hughes, who was in turn succeeded in 1759 by Benjamin Milner. The last named seems to have been somewhat more conscientious. A Provincial Court of Public Claims, meeting in April, 1762, declared that "Benjamin Milner, sheriff of Rowan County, was allowed his claim of £20 for his salary as sheriff for the years 1759 and 1760, having fully accounted with the treasurer for those years."*[362]

Edward Hughes and the Regulator War

Another occurrence with Edward Hughes is also of consequence with the claim of the theft of the Wachovia Tract. Hughes and the Moravians seemingly remained on very friendly terms for several years, each helping the other as much as possible, according to several entries in the Diaries. However, two incidents in 1764 seem to have been somewhat of a turning point in their relationship. Jacob Lash, a Moravian and a fellow magistrate with Hughes, bound over for trial a horse thief that Hughes had defended. Hughes later threatened Rev. John Michael Graff over a marriage bann, a request which Rev. Graff, later the minister in Salem, had refused. With both Lash and Graff deciding against Hughes' liking,[363] troubles with him started coming almost immediately afterward. An example recorded in the Diaries was this:

> *March 22 [1771]. Br. Lorenz returned from Bethania. He stated that yesterday a man from the Yadkin reported that at three places on the Yadkin notice was posted that the Indians would invade this province this spring, especially to attack the Old Town, or Bethabara, which they had not been able to capture in the last war. Edward Hughes is probably the author of these notices, for he would gladly spread a report to frighten us.*[364]

When the Regulator War--a major dispute of many settlers of several backcountry counties with the colonial government over taxes, legal fees, and corrupt officials, 1766-71--came to the area, Hughes joined seemingly for revenge for these incidents.

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[360] Fries, *Records*, pp. 165-167.
[361] Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 196.
[362] Ramsey, *Cradle*, p. 176.
[363] Fries, *Records*, p. 287-88.
[364] Fries, *Records*, p. 453

This appears to be a clear case of hypocritical opportunism, with an official convicted of misappropriation of public funds joining a group which advocated investigation and removal of dishonest government officials, and in revenge against a group that had done him absolutely no harm, and aided him more than once. One instance of this was when the Regulators came to Bethabara, 16 March 1771, six days before the previous entry and two months exactly before the Battle of Alamance, between the Regulators and colonial militia under Governor William Tryon, a battle that completely broke the Regulator movement:

> *. . .the party of Regulators from the Yadkin appeared as they had said. . with Edward Hughes, who acted as spokesman. . Hughes made another complaint on his own account, saying that he had paid Mr. Corbin for the land on which Bethabara stands; he could show no written proof of this, .but demanded £30, saying [Bishop Spangenberg] had taken this land from him, etc.*[365]

It seems to me that part of the reason the Regulators hated the Moravian Brethren, and attempted to gain as much control over their land as they did, is that the Moravians were still making grants to others, even though the Granville Land Office had been closed for about eight years at the time, as is reflected in the words, *had taken this land from him*:

> *With the office closed, it was not possible for settlers to obtain land, a fact that contributed to restlessness in Orange and Rowan counties. Regulator pamphleteer Herman Husband suggested that the inability to acquire land was one of the reasons for the conflicts that developed in 1770.*[366]

Two things are obvious from these passages. One, this inability to obtain a land grant had many repercussions for both the new settlers in the Granville District and the Moravians, the troubles with the Regulators being only the beginning of the Moravians' problems, a later example of this to be examined shortly. Two, it is also evident that Hughes' claim was merely an emotional, even though agonizing, response, due to this complete inability to obtain land, and clearly was overwhelmingly spiteful toward the Moravians. By reference to his complete lack of documentation, Edward Hughes clearly had neither a logical nor a legal foundation for his claim, factors that also apply to any modern one.

"In trust for the Unitas Fratrum"

The crown of the Rural Hall contention, though, is the claim that the Moravians were Loyalists, and should have lost the Tract through the Confiscation Act of 1777, which allowed for the state confiscation of the property of Loyalists and those who were non-resident in the state as of 4 July 1776, and granted to anyone that made a claim to it.

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[365] Fries, *Records*, p. 452; see also n. 483, pp. 136-37, for the entire quote.

[366] Mitchell, *Granville*, p. 117.

This is, seemingly, the real historical kernel around which the *theft of the land* claim is based. This contention was based on two mistaken charges. First, James Hutton, Secretary of the Moravian Church and a British national, was supposed to have been the owner of the Wachovia Tract, a claim made at that time based on the deeds made by him to various Moravians, and indeed a logical claim based solely on those deeds. Second, a modern claim by the Rural Hall group was made because of the many Moravian maps, copies of which have been readily available for years, most of which refer to five *King's Roads*,[367] and therefore used by them to claim the same thing.

The argument of the first charge was that since James Hutton was both British and non-resident in North Carolina, he should naturally have lost the Tract to the state. Nor did one have to know of James Hutton to charge the Moravians with being Tories. One such person from that time was Captain William Lenoir of the Wilkes County militia:

> *Feb. 7 [1781]. . .All these demands were made with threats, which sounded as though they sought an excuse to plunder the town. One Captain said he had inquired about the people in the town and had found that some were for and some against the common cause, and that the former should now show it. Lenoir declared roundly that we were his enemies, but for the time he would not harm us except that we must give what they needed and demanded. After we had had much trouble with them, and had felt the Power of Darkness, they left about ten o'clock at night, with a show of politeness, taking the public lead, cut into small pieces.*[368]

> *The hospital, too, moved on, and when the guards were withdrawn the conduct of the visiting men became more disorderly. The Wilkes County militia, as usual, were very boisterous, making many threats against the town. Their captain, William Lenoir, encouraged their bad behavior, declaring that "the brethren are my enemies, but for the time I will not harm them, but they must give us what we need and demand."*
>
> *"Why does Captain Lenoir hate us so?" I asked, for this was always the attitude of the Wilkes militia.*
>
> *"A guilty conscience causes hatred toward the party injured," Casper replied. "For years he has been the leader of the men who have settled on the Moravian land known as the Mulberry Fields. They are squatters and have no legal title to the land, but they have refused to move, and so they hate us."*[369]

William Lenoir held this unprovoked and hypocritical grudge against the Brethren for many years, but the friends of the Moravians were also many, several of them in positions of authority that could not be gainsaid by the likes of Captain Lenoir, such as William Campbell, Martin Armstrong, and Joseph Winston:

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[367] The King's Roads were those to Virginia, Shallow Ford, Deep River (all from the 1759 map), Salisbury, and the Bryant's Settlement (from 1766 and later).

[368] Fries, *Records*, p. 1674.

[369] Fries, *Road to Salem*, p. 251. Casper Heinzmann was the minister at Friedland Moravian Church, in southeastern Forsyth County, and the husband of Anna Catherina at the time. Many had squatted on the Moravian land over the years, among them brothers Daniel and George Boone.

Mar. 2. During the afternoon the rest of the Wilkes militia returned from camp, under command of Major Hernden, Captain Lenoir, etc. From some things that were said they seem to be ashamed of their former behavior, but they were little better this time. The food which they demanded was given to them, though we afterwards learned that they had plenty with them. . .

Mar. 3. Colonel [William] Campbell went on and thirty of his men followed later in the day. Before leaving he gave emphatic warning to Captain Lenoir of Wilkes, concerning the bad behavior of himself and his men. Promise of Salvegarde for the town was secured from Colonel [Martin] Armstrong.[370]

There are two things concerning this passage in the Diaries that I am virtually constrained to say. First, the only thing that I think I can possibly admire about William Lenoir is the house he built after the Revolution.[371] Second, I don't believe I have ever been more favorably impressed by the character of any historical figure than I was of Colonel William Campbell, when I read of his strong response to the thuggish nature of William Lenoir and his Wilkes County militia. The completely reprehensible behavior of him and his men completely destroys his character in my eyes, in spite of his valuable service to the Patriot cause during the Revolution, especially that of the Battle of King's Mountain. A very intriguing irony is that Lenoir's grandaughter later attended Salem Academy, their reputation for quality education clearly becoming widely known.[372]

Additionally, this author does not know if the Contingent is familiar with it, they having never mentioned it in his hearing, but this claim of the Moravians' Toryism is also supported by a certain entry in the Diary of Lieutenant Anthony Allaire, a Loyalist and British Regular captured at the Battle of King's Mountain. It seems very clear to this author that the Contingent would jump at the chance to use this passage if they had known anything about it:

Sunday, 22d. Moved at ten o'clock in the morning. Obtained liberty to go forward with Col. Shelby to Salem, a town inhabited by Moravians. Rode ten miles, and forded Yadkin River at Shallow Ford. Proceded on fourteen miles farther to Salem. Went to meeting in the evening; highly entertained with the decency of those people, and with their music. Salem contains about twenty houses, and a place of worship. The people of this town are all mechanics; those of the other two Moravian

[370] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1684. Colonel William Campbell had formerly been overall commander of the Patriot force at the Battle of King's Mountain, where Captain Lenoir had also fought. Colonel Martin Armstrong was commander of Surry County militia during the Revolution. Lenoir was an implacable enemy of the Moravians for years, particularly in the Wilkes County Land Suit over the disposition of the two Mulberry Fields Tracts of the Moravians: Fries, *Records III*, pp. 1413-19. The Rural Hall Contingent is of similar belief today.

[371] The house is called Fort Defiance, and was built in the 1790's near the original fort of that name, at that time in Wilkes, and now Caldwell County, about 10 miles north and 5 miles east of the county seat of Lenoir (named of course for William Lenoir), on N. C. Highway 268.

[372] Lenoir, Louisa, *Letter from Louisa*, Griffin, *Three Forks IV*, pp. 11-12.

settlements are all farmers, and all stanch friends to Government.[373]

Even though it's clearly unnecessary, let it be stated for the record: as a mere prisoner, Lieutenant Allaire was *not* privy to the councils of the Moravians in *any* way, and cannot be said to understand their motivation. Neither was he, or those that say today the Moravians were Loyalists, cognizent of *any* of the facts concerning the Wachovia Tract. The truth of the matter is that, in terms of the supposed British ownership of the Wachovia Tract and its use as an excuse for demanding its confiscation, James Hutton was actually just the trustee for the Brethren, having been granted the Tract *in Trust and for the Use, Benefit and Behoof of the said Unitas Fratrum.*[374]

The answer to the second claim is that at least eleven of the Moravian maps of the Wachovia Tract in the 18th century were drawn *before* the American Revolution, when North Carolina was still a *colony*, not a *state*. It would clearly have been considered almost treasonous not to have a King's Road somewhere within the Wachovia settlement, especially of the quality that the Moravians laid off. It is also extremely significant to this claim that the maps drawn during and after the Revolution show no *King's Roads* at all. The unwavering loyalty of the Moravian Brethren for the American cause during the Revolution, as is documented by thousands of official records of both the Moravians and the state, is also a sufficient answer to the claim. Many passages in the Diaries confirm this assessment, with one overwhelmingly clear passage, and its footnote written by Dr. Fries, being this:

> *Oct. 19 [1780]. It is our duty, in speaking with outsiders about our position in these political circumstances, that we allow no one to doubt that we are faithful subjects of the State. Even without an Affirmation our conscience would have required that we be loyal to the State, according to Romans 13: 1, but in addition we have taken the Affirmation in the sight of God. Our character as an honorable people requires that we maintain this position, so that everyone may acknowledge us as faithful subjects of the State, which will give us standing with this party, and will not bring us into danger from their opposers, for in all the world it is required that fidelity be pledged to the party of government that is in power, and that due submission shall be made to it. It is painful for us, it is unendurable, and in the end dangerous, if we permit ourselves to be accused of being Tories, and we are to consider this term of reproach as an injury, not as dishonor to be borne for the sake of Christ, and we shall not let it rest upon us.*

This is striking testimony to the loyalty of the Moravians in North Carolina to the American Cause. In

[373] Draper, Lyman C., *King's Mountain and its Heroes*, reprint of original 1881 publication, Johnson City, The Overmountain Press, 1996, p. 511. Lt. Allaire's use of the word 'Government' meant the British Government.

Additionally, it is actually 17 miles from the Shallow Ford to Salem, not 14. Thirdly, the Moravian Diaries say that the prisoners from King's Mountain were taken to Bethabara, but here Lieutenant Allaire and several other officers were taken to Salem. The spot where the road toward Bethabara (actually the Great Wagon Road) and the one to Salem (the Salem-Shallow Ford Road of 1772) met is at the present time owned by this author.

[374] Fries, *Records*, p. 66.

date it preceded by three days the receipt of news of the battle of King's Mountain, and falls therefore into the period when the American success seemed most uncertain, and when the inducement was greatest to join those of Tory sentiment.[375]

To those readers of this book whose knowledge of the progress of the American Revolution is not what it could be, the only military affairs that the Moravians could possibly have known of at the time were; one, the collapse of the attack on British-held Savannah, Georgia, 9 October 1779;[376] two, the fall of Charleston, South Carolina, a Patriot stronghold and the largest city in the Southern colonies, the 5000-man Southern Continental army under General Benjamin Lincoln and much military materiel surrendered on 12 May 1780;[377] three, the massacre of Colonel Abraham Buford's command, by Lieutenant Colonel Banastre Tarleton's British Legion, in the Waxhaws Settlement of northern South Carolina south of Charlotte on 26 May 1780;[378] four, the Battle of Camden, South Carolina, 16 August 1780, the completely incompetent--and seemingly cowardly--General Horatio Gates being humiliated by Lord Cornwallis;[379] and five, the slaughter of Colonel Thomas Sumter's militia force by Colonel Tarleton on 18 August 1780:[380] Patriot disasters all. Let Lieutenant Allaire's or Captain Lenoir's accounts say what they will: considering the fact that all the Moravians could possibly have known were of unmitigated disasters, it is abundantly clear from this passage that anyone who either could previously or can now maintain that the Moravians were Loyalists in the face of this evidence is no historical researcher at all, but has an entirely different agenda.

The "Town Fork-Richmond Road" of 1779

Ironies of the Rural Hall route, Part Two

A road connected with the future Germanton is of great interest to this claim, as well as of significance to the very ironic truth of the matter. The *Town Fork-Richmond Road*, from Brook Cove northeast of Germanton to Richmond near the Donnaha Ford on the Yadkin, at that time the county seat of Surry County, and sometime later called the *Old Road from Germanton*[381] has been used as support for the contention. Deed documentation for it mainly includes several purchases and grants to Anthony Bitting, whose family has been instrumental in the history of the Rural Hall and Germanton areas over the years, descendants still inhabiting the area. Bitting's association with the Rural Hall area began in 1786, with his purchase of 241 acres from the estate of a Leonard Moser, who had died in 1784, a North Carolina Grant for 100 acres in 1791, and yet another 80 acre state grant on what was then called the Old Road from

[375] Fries, *RecordsIV*, p. 1607. Romans 13:1 reads (in the NEB): *Every person must submit to the supreme authorities. There is no authority but by act of God, and the existing authorities are instituted by him, . . .*

[376] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1428.

[377] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1540.

[378] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1543. Lieutenant Colonel Tarleton gained his name *Bloody Tarleton* in this battle, having butchered soldiers in the act of surrender.

[379] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1559.

[380] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1559.

[381] The date of this road order was 1779, but Germanton was not founded until 1790 (see next two footnotes).

Germanton in 1796, the first purchase when the area was still in Surry County, the latter two grants after it had become Stokes County in 1789. The road obviously went down present Brook Cove Road, to the north of Town Fork Creek between Germanton and Walnut Cove, down the present Browder Farm Road and across Neatman Creek, where its remains can still be seen before disappearing in the creek bottom, down the present Friendship Road and through the northwest corner of Germanton, and more or less down N. C. Highway 65 to Rural Hall, and thence to Richmond, probably traveling close to the railroad on the north edge of Rural Hall westward toward Tobaccoville.

This road clearly was an 18th century road, and is confirmed not only by these deeds but also by its continued existence on the ground at various places in the Rural Hall to Germanton area, lending of course at least some plausibility to the claim of the Rural Hall Contingent. There is one completely intractible problem with this theory, though, that of the officially documented date of the road order for its construction. The Surry County court documents referring to it are dated 14 May and 12 August 1779, and their abstracts read thus:

> *Ord. Robert Walker, Joseph Harrison, Philip Shouse, John Binkley, Thomas Briggs, Gray Bynum, Alexander Moore, James Freeman, James Ross, William Campbell, Arthur Denton, Frederick Helsibeck, John Snead, Andrew Fisler, Abraham Martin, Thomas Evans, Michael Fry, Joseph Winston, Edward Evans, James Charl__, Valentine Fry, Henry Fry jury to view road from Major Winston's to Court House.*[382]

> *Jury appointed to view road from Major Winston's to Court House make report: turn out of old road just above Bynum's; thence between Michael and Henry Frys into old road below Abraham Martin's; thence along old road to Henry Hendricks; thence turn off and run near Leonard Mouser's; thence to Richmond following overseers keep same in repair: Thomas Briggs from Richmond to Leonard Mouser's; Henry Fry from Mouser's to Neatman Creek; John Blackburn from Neatman to Moses Martin's.*[383]

"View Road"

Many of the people in these court documents are well-known and very easily located. The name of Joseph Winston (1746-1815) is of course well-known: first cousin of Patrick Henry, land entry taker and ranger (animal control officer) for Surry County, third in command of Surry County militia during the Revolution, one of the heroes of the Battle of King's Mountain,[384] namesake of Winston-Salem, and much more. His farms were on Town Fork Creek just east and northeast of present

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[382] Absher, Mrs. W. O., and Mrs. R. K. Hayes, Sr., *Surry County Court Minutes, Vol. 1*, North Wilkesboro, n.d., p. 14; hereafter called 'Absher, *Surry*.'

[383] Absher, *Surry*, p. 17. The *old road above Bynum's* was the Great Wagon Road, the *old road below Abraham Martin's* the Town Fork-Donnaha Road.

[384] The overall commander of the Patriot force at the Battle of King's Mountain was Colonel William Campbell of Washington County, Virginia, whose wife was Elizabeth Henry, Patrick's sister and Joseph Winston's first cousin.

Germanton on both Brook Cove Road and Highway 65.[385] Gray Bynum was a Surry County magistrate and the son-in-law of Anthony Hampton, as noted the Captain of Hampton's Rangers in the French and Indian War. Bynum owned the old Hampton farm on Brook Cove Road north of Town Fork Creek. Michael and Henry Fry were two of the sons of Valentine Fry, Sr., and owned the 700 acre tract where Germanton now stands with their brother Valentine, Jr., their father having bought it from Jacob Lash in 1765.[386] Abraham Martin owned a 410 acre tract in the southwest angle of Buffalo and Town Fork Creeks southwest of Germanton.[387] Leonard Mouser (Moser) lived in present Rural Hall, one of the first to ever obtain a land grant there. John Snead lived and operated a store in Richmond, county seat of Surry, 1774-89. Moses Martin lived in present downtown Walnut Cove, on land originally owned by Henry Banner.[388] This road, therefore, can only be dated as c. 1779-80, map confirmation for it coming only after that date, a fact reinforced by the term *view road* in these documents. The term most resembles today's feasibility and environmental impact study--both of which precede actual construction--proving beyond any doubt that it cannot be the Great Wagon Road.

The "New River, "Quaker", and "Town Fork-Donnaha" roads

The chief historical irony of this claim, however, is even more incredible, and of an even older date. The French and Indian War in North Carolina virtually ended with the attack of the Cherokee on Fort Dobbs, 27 February 1760, an attack which drew severe reprisals from Colonel Hugh Waddell and others afterward. When the dust of war finally settled the white settlers began to think again of cutting new roads to various places they had previously wanted to, and that the Indians had then abandoned after the war, in the surrounding area. Construction of these roads, both local and colony-wide, took place at a furious rate in 1762-65, two of them being; one, the *Irish Ford Road* of 1763,[389] from the future Huntsville south through the future Mocksville to Salisbury, now partially called Huntsville-Farmington Road; and two, the *King's Road to the Bryant's Settlement* of 1765,[390] from Bethabara through the future Clemmons to present Davie County, now following, more or less, Polo Road, Peace Haven Road, McGregor Road, Silas Creek Road, Hampton Road, and Idols Road in Forsyth County, and part of Underpass Road in Davie. Among the others cut at this time were five of interest to this Rural Hall Road claim. Three of these roads were cut in 1762; one, the *Bethania-Hollow-New River Road*, now more or less U. S. Highway 52; two, *Quaker*

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[385] North Carolina State Historical Marker J39, N. C. Highway 65 at U. S. 311, Walnut Cove; Fries, *Records III*, p. 1269. Joseph Winston and the Moravians had a very friendly relationship, one which eventually led to the Forsyth County seat being named for him in 1851.

Incidentally, the site of Joseph Winston's house east of Germanton is now a swimming pool, making use of part of the original basement.

[386] Rowan County Deed Book 7, pp. 32-34, 1 September 1765.

[387] Surry Deed Book B, page 84, 3 April 1780. See also the Germanton Land Grant Map, drawn 1997 by the author.

[388] Information obtained from Judy Cardwell, in turn from the North Carolina State Archives, Raleigh. Eleanor Banner, Henry's wife, was born Eleanor Martin: Moses was probably close kin.

[389] Rowan County Court of Common Pleas and Quarterly Sessions, Book 2, page 469, 13 July 1763.

[390] Fries, *Records*, p. 284.

Road, now partially N. C. Highway 65 from Stokesdale to Germanton; and three, the *Town Fork-Donnaha Road*. Two more were either cut or improved from trails in 1763: the two *Mulberry Fields Roads*, the first from Bethabara to Donnaha, thence above the north bank of the Yadkin through present Surry County, and the second from the Shallow Ford, now called the Daniel Boone Trail, roughly paralleling and eventually merging with U. S. Highway 421. Both were probably built in stages as settlement spread west, and completed as wagon roads to the Mulberry Fields c. 1769-70.

Neither the Quaker nor Town Fork-Donnaha Road is mentioned specifically in the Diaries, probably because they were of a merely incidental nature to the Moravians, neither of them beginning, traveling through, nor ending in any Moravian possession (save that of the 700 acre tract at present Germanton, owned at the time by the Frye brothers), but the Hollow-New River Road is, which began as noted in Bethania in 1762, and references that can apply only to it are mentioned copiously:

> *Feb. 20. This week a wagon road has been opened from the Hollow to Bethania.*[391]

> *May 18. Br. David Bishoff made an address to the Married People in Bethania. Some of our Brethren there who have been to Virginia to see about their land on New River have returned...*[392]

> *July 19. The Virginia Colonel, Chiswell, Inspector and Partner of the mine on New River came from there with a small company to see our settlement, for they get their bread or meal from here.*[393]

These Diary entries are complemented by two Moravian maps. The first is a freehand map of what later became the eastern section of Surry County, drawn by Gottlieb Reuter in 1762, but actually more accurate in some ways than his more artistic endeavors. This map, intriguingly, depicts the road to the Hollow as the *Intended Road to New River*.[394] The second is a plat map for a grant surveyed by Jacob Lash of Bethabara for a Jarvis Roebuck, just above the northern edge of the Wachovia Tract in the Muddy Creek bottom, of January 1762, in the map section. A notable structure on this 684 acre tract today is the Westinghouse plant just off U. S. Highway 52 south of King. The road to the Hollow clearly--by reference to several other Moravian maps--was completed to Fort Chiswell in the New River valley within a very short period of time. This Bethania-Hollow-New River Road obviously became a very important road very fast, since Colonel John Chiswell started getting his *bread or meal* from Wachovia in such a short time from its initial construction--from 20 February to 19 July 1762. The Shot Tower at nearby Austinville, birthplace of Stephen F. Austin, founder of Austin, Texas, was built somewhat later, but still obviously to take advantage of the lead from the several as-yet-active Chiswell Lead Mines for bullet manufacturing. The remains of

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[391] Fries, *Records*, p. 243.

[392] Fries, *Records*, p. 246.

[393] Fries, *Records*, p. 249.

[394] Map provided by Rod Meyer; printed by permission of the Moravian Archives.

this road can still be seen at the bottom of the hill the Shot Tower is built at the top of.[395] The Quaker Road also had to have been cut at about the same time, settlement in the Hollow--now Mt. Airy--having begun in earnest only in the fall of 1761, though some few had lived there since at the latest 1749.[396] The Quaker Road began at the Quaker *New Garden Settlement*, now Guilford College, and traveled through the present Stokesdale, Belews Creek, the southern part of Walnut Cove, and Germanton, more or less down modern N. C. Highway 65. It then traveled through Quaker Gap, passing by the future site of the *Jack Martin Rock House*, built from 1770 to 1785, and thence through Westfield to Mt. Airy. Just east of Mount Airy, near present Bannertown, there is a road north of N. C. Highway 89 still called Quaker Road, and is probably its modern equivalent. The Town Fork-Donnaha Road started in the future Germanton, probably at the place where the Quaker Road crossed the Wagon Road, just east of Buffalo Creek and south of Town Fork.[397] Later paralleled and joined at various stretches by the 1779 Town Fork-Richmond Road, it then went west through Tobaccoville--on the New River Road--just east of which an extant section of the older road can still be seen. This is, incredibly, the same road on the same land depicted on the 1762 Jacob Lash plat map. From there it traveled more or less down modern Tobaccoville Road and then Ridge Road, along which short stretches of the old road can still be seen, to the Donnaha Ford, where there were two early Indian villages, one on each side of the river. This was also where it met the northern Mulberry Fields Road on the hill overlooking the Donnaha Ford, where Richmond would be built in 1774, and bound for the Mulberry Fields, now North Wilkesboro. John Snead built his Store in the future Richmond about 1770--it and his house having been the first structures there, even before it had been granted by Lord Granville's estate[398] --probably because he wished to take advantage of the heavy traffic on the three main settlement roads of the area. The Mulberry Fields Road by c. 1769-70 probably went through the Mulberry Fields to the Watauga Settlement, centered on the Watauga River valley, and now Boone, North Carolina; Elizabethton, Tennessee (then called Sycamore Shoals); and Johnson City, Tennessee. By ten years after its beginning--1773, three years after its completion to the Mulberry Fields as a wagon road--it ran to the Long Island of the Holston, now Kingsport, Tennessee, and thence to Cumberland Gap and Kentucky.[399]

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[395] The remains of the road are next to the location of the New River ferry, and within sight of I-77. The mine stayed active until the Civil War.

[396] The Fry-Jefferson Map, surveyed for in 1749, shows four in the Ararat and Fisher River valleys of present Surry County: Easly, Loven, Mount, and Peter King. Largent and Mackay were in the same river valleys in present Carroll County, Virginia.

An interesting fact concerning Mackay is that someone of the same or very similar name was also associated with the Borden Settlement of present Rockbridge County, Virginia, settling there in 1727, 12 years before Benjamin Borden was granted the tract, suggesting very early connection with both here and there.

[397] Remains of the Wagon Road can still be traced south of present Highway 65, but are lost in the field to its north.

[398] At the time, it was the only way anyone could get a "land grant" in the Granville District: Granville had died 2 January 1763, before John Snead had come to the area, and Granville's son never reopened the land office, even though he tried to from 1773 to 1775, on the eve of the Revolution, after which time it would have become moot anyway, due to the Confiscation Act of 1777. State grants replaced both royal and Granville grants in 1778.

[399] An intriguing point concerning these mountain roads is this: the ones that ran to the Great Valley Road had to end their wagon traffic at that spot, due to the fact that after one reached Ingles' Ferry on the New River, now Radford, it was not improved to a Wagon Road until 1796, when it was renamed the Wilderness Road from that spot into Kentucky: no wagon traveled through Cumberland Gap until that year.

The Rural Hall route - Conclusions

Thus the Germanton-Rural Hall-Bethania claim is not only historically and socially wrong but even counter-productive to the claimants. The continual disparagement of the Moravians is very ironic, considering that both the Diaries and maps confirm the true route, as well as the fact that the Contingent's claimed sources do not support their contentions. This can also clearly be said of the land grant records in Salisbury, Raleigh, and even Dobson, county seat of the county whose records they mainly rely on, Surry. It even ignores the official colonial and state maps from 1770 to 1833, all of them again disputing the claim. The Town Fork-Donnaha Road, as is very evident, connected three very important settlement roads--the Great Wagon Road, the northern Mulberry Fields Road, and the Hollow-New River Road--making it almost as historic as they are. Also interestingly, it would have had to travel right through the future Rural Hall doing so, both the topography and cartography supporting only such a route. The east end of the road, Germanton, was also the site of an Indian village--intriguingly, at the Town Fork Creek crossing of the Wagon Road[400]--a fact virtually confirming this road's original status of Indian trail, significantly, a major aspect of their claim.

Echoing this last point, yet another part of the historic significance of the Town Fork-Donnaha Road is probably due to the settlement of Hans Wagner on the western bank of the Donnaha Ford in 1753, this trail probably being the route his son used in traveling from the Davis Ford on the Dan through the future Germanton to his home, lending almost incontrovertible proof to that former contention, this route of course fulfilling the last requirement for that claim. The historic importance of this *secondary road*--if secondary is the right word to use, considering its historical significance--neither could nor should be underestimated. No one that lives along that route need feel slighted that it was not the Great Wagon Road.

The "King's Road to the Shallow Ford" and other stories of Wachovia

John Bartram and the Medical Garden

Many other things of the area are also dated to 1762, facts which demonstrate an increasing volume of traffic on both older and newer roads, and great significance in many other things as well. One such heartwarming incident--to a gardener--was on 2 October:

> *A botanist from Philadelphia stopped on his journey and inspected our medical garden,*[401] *and certain other places. He said the slope below our God's Acre was a great treasure-house.*[402]

The Medical Garden was begun by Dr. Hans Martin Kalberlahn, and was one of the reasons he was so beloved by all the people within a radius of a hundred miles

[400] Information obtained from Rod Meyer, in turn from various residents of Stanleyville and Germanton.

[401] Now restored on its original site in Bethabara Park.

[402] Fries, *Records*, p. 250.

around the Wachovia Tract, and so missed when he died during the typhus epidemic in 1759. The only botanist of the latter day *from Philadelphia*, and one who could definitely recognize botanical brilliance, was John Bartram (1699-1777). Bartram's Botanical Garden was the most celebrated of the few such gardens in the British colonies, and to the best of this author's knowledge the only such garden surviving to the present day. His words concerning the Medical Garden at Bethabara are naturally a source of great pride for it to this day.[403]

The "King's Highway" and the "Shallow Ford Road"

The contemporary documentation for these claims concerning the route of the Great Wagon Road through Forsyth County is clearly incomplete, obviously counter-productive, and completely illogical, and it's a wonder that so many could ever have been taken in by them, especially myself. The documentation of grants and deeds, official colonial and state maps, and especially the Moravian Diaries and maps, are of such an overwhelmingly complete nature as to admit of no doubt at all what route it took through the Wachovia Tract, and indeed through two-thirds of the county, from Germanton to Muddy Creek. The final pieces of documentation for that route are three.

One, the clear implication of the historical record, as noted, suggests that the Great Wagon Road stopped at Grassy Creek at the time of the Moravians' arrival on 17 November 1753.[404] The Moravian Diaries also say that the Brethren cut the *Road to the Shallow Ford* on 18-20 February 1754, a Diary entry to be studied extensively in the next chapter. Two pieces of evidence that almost conclusively connect the *King's Highway* with the *Shallow Ford Road* are the Diary entry of 4 March 1765 and the 1766 Reuter map of the 2000 acre Bethania Town Lot:[405]

> *The bridge across the Grassy Fork was repaired, for the King's Road to the Shallow Ford crosses it.*[406]

That Diary entry indeed reflects a logical statement, based on every map of the Wachovia Tract, for the maps all depict only one road running between the Grassy Creek crossing and the Shallow Ford, including, significantly, the road running through the southeast corner of the Bethania Town Lot, now called Pembrook Drive. This map of the Bethania Town Lot, #13 of the map section, on the other hand, tells a somewhat different story from the Diary entry, of which two things must be said. One, the map depicts the road running through its southeastern corner that is clearly, by reference to the maps of the entire Wachovia Tract, the same road as that just referred to.[407] Two, the name of that road on the Bethania Town Lot map, however, is *Konigs Weg nach Virginien*, King's Way to Virginia. The fact that the stretch of road depicted on the map is closer by something over a mile to the Shallow Ford from Grassy Creek,

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[403] John Bartram's visit is commemorated today by Bartram Road, off Coliseum Drive three miles south of Bethabara.

[404] Known from the lack of any mention of the Wagon Road or any other on the three early excursions over the Tract.

[405] Map provided by Mo Hartley, from original in Moravian Archives.

[406] Fries, *Records*, p. 300.

[407] Especially the maps of 1766 and earlier: the Bethania Town Lot was later resurveyed further to the north, and the new southeast corner was just north of the Wagon Road.

and clearly on the same road, virtually proves beyond serious doubt that the *King's Road to Virginia* and the *King's Road to the Shallow Ford* must be one and the same road.

Two, the reference to the Bethabara Mill Road in the 1772 Minister's Conference minutes, by the virtue of it being referred to by a different name--and not called a King's Road--clearly proves that it was an offshoot of the King's Road, and not the main road. This is true even though it connected the northern approach to the Bethabara Mill, which was the commercial center of the Wachovia Tract from 1755 to 1772 (when the Salem Mill on the Wach, now called Salem Creek, was built) with the King's Road to Salisbury, now Midkiff, Reynolda, Stratford, Ebert, and Old Salisbury roads.

The Shallow Ford Road: "Old" and "New"

This same 1772 Minister's Conference also routed *the old Shallow Ford road to Joseph Holder's bridge.* Joseph Holder's farm was just west of Muddy Creek, and is now called Grandview, in the northern part of Pfafftown, and his bridge was over Muddy Creek. A c. 1850 house of one of his descendants formerly stood overlooking Grandview Shopping Center just south of the Lochurst housing development, but has now been destroyed for a new development. The *new* Shallow Ford Road--in one of the very few times the word *new* was contrasted with *old* in the Moravian Diaries, and the only time this author has seen--was the one just cut that same year from Salem west toward the Shallow Ford, in order to connect Salem with all important destinations, naturally to aid both Salem and the areas around the Wachovia Tract commercially. This *new Shallow Ford Road* is now variously called Academy Street, Hawthorne Road, Old Vineyard Road, Country Club Road, and Shallow Ford Road. This *new Shallow Ford Road* westward from Salem, later called the *Salem-Shallow Ford Road*, is significant to the discussion of the route of the Wagon Road in the western part of Forsyth County, and will be discussed in full in the next chapter.

The Old Town Drive route, etc.

Another possible location for the Great Wagon Road to the south is the one to the east of Grassy Creek, which by reference to all the Moravian maps of the day ran from the King's Road on the back side of the present Hanes Mill to Bethabara, thence up present Old Town Drive to Reynolda Road and thence south to Stratford Road. The sufficient answers to that are: one, every reference in the Moravian Diaries routes the King's Road to Grassy Creek; and two, the road east of Grassy Creek not only never crossed it, but was cut by the Moravians on their first day in Wachovia. This road initially only traveled as far as the Wagner cabin,[408] before eventually running by the Bethabara Mill to *Donnaha*, not the Shallow Ford, obviously becoming the first part of the northern Mulberry Fields Road. Another answer to it is that the oldest map of Bethabara--of 1754[409]--shows the only road through it running by the Wagner cabin to the future site of the mill, and not up Old Town Drive.

[408] Fries, *Diary*, p. 355.

[409] Map provided by Rod Meyer, from the original in the Moravian Archives. The map is also to be used in Volume Two: *The Cape Fear Road.*

There are two points to be made about this map, both dating it incontrovertably to 1754. First, as can be seen, on map # 14, the sleep hall is depicted on it:

> *Feb. 7 [1754]. In the morning hour we meditated upon the wounds and death of Jesus. Today the rails for our sleeping room were placed. . . .*
>
> *Feb. 8. We began to build a cabin for strangers. . . .*[410]
>
> *Feb. 9. We arose well and content and had our morning prayers. This morning Mr. Haltem and his son went home. Today there was a very heavy wind storm. By evening our lodging place for strangers was finished. It is built of wide rails laid up like logs, and has a small fireplace, so that in case of need we can lodge two sick guests. . . .*[411]

Second, in what can only be called complete confirmation of the date that has been alleged for this map, the present Bethania Station Road, at that time called the "new road toward Pennsylvania", is not shown:

> *Nov. 19. Four of the Brethren went to finish the new road toward Pennsylvania;--it is only a foot-way.*[412] *The first path in the Wachau leading to Deep River was blazed.*[413]

Several more things need to be said about this map, all of them supporting this claim. First, the Diaries speak of a group of Moravians arriving in Bethabara:

> *Our dear Br. Peter [Boehler] arrived on Sept. 10, much to our joy. He was accompanied by Br. Hoger and Herman Loesch. . . .One main object of his visit was to inspect the tract and measure it, and many days were devoted to this, various Brethren being appointed to accompany and assist him. A map was made by Hoger, who also made a copy to be retained in the Wachau. . . .*[414]
>
> *Sept. 30. Br. Boehler left for Newbern, taking Br. Herman Loesch along as guide.*[415]

As is immediately noted, both the arrival and departure of Peter Boehler's party is within the time period that this map had to have been drawn, a fact of significance to all the other points to be made. While the Diaries seem to hint that the map drawn by Hoger was one of the entire Wachovia Tract, it could just be this depiction of Bethabara, the only major area of settlement within Wachovia at the time. The one

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[410] Fries, *Records*, p. 94.

[411] Fries, *Records*, p. 94.

[412] On the 1766 map of the Bethabara Town Lot it was still shown as a foot path.

[413] Fries, *Records*, p.112. Please note that the Brethren referred separately to this road: these two roads were not the same road.

[414] Fries, *Records*, p. 107.

[415] Fries, *Records*, p. 107.

exception to this, of course, was Edward Sweeting's house near South Fork Creek, but that was the home of only one family, as opposed to the beginnings of an entire town at Bethabara.

A second thing to take into account concerning this map of Wachovia is that the Boehler-Hoger party was here for only twenty days. To bring into perspective what this means to the production of the Hoger map, it took Gottlieb Reuter four years to produce the Wachovia Great Map, 1758 to 1762. The map Br. Hoger made, if it was of the whole of Wachovia, could not possibly have been much more than a simple relocating of the corners of the Tract. Another thing to take into account is that the original surveying party with Bishop Spangenburg took from 27 December 1752 to 13 January 1753--eighteen days--to survey the Tract, with four chain carriers accompanying the Bishop and William Churton, according to the nineteen original plats of the Wachovia Tract.[416] If the Boehler-Hoger map was of the entire Wachovia Tract, it would probably be somewhat similar to the original William Churton map of the previous year. However, the Diaries hint that not all of the twenty days were spent in making the map. Based on that, I cannot believe that the map was of the whole of Wachovia. In addition, the Moravian Archives have no record of such a map,[417] even though this passage says that a copy of the map by Hoger was to be left in Wachovia. All this leads me to believe that the diagram of Bethabara is the map spoken of here, even though it's seemingly of too small an area for the length of time spent surveying and drawing it.[418]

Third, the purpose that many Moravians had for these things, such as the map, was to let other Moravians know of what was passing in Moravian communities around the world. This depiction of Bethabara would conclusively show that the Brethren had made a good start, but it was only a start, and Phase Two, as it were, should now begin, which required many more people than were there at the time. I can think of nothing better to accomplish this than this map, which is, of course, another point arguing for this diagram being the Hoger Map.[419]

In yet another point concerning this research, this map also deals conclusively in two different ways with Mr. Wellman's claim of a north-south route, as if anything else was required to show its lack of support by the historical record. One, the King's Road clearly traveled across Grassy Creek--as indeed his contention would also have to maintain, due to the clear word of the Moravian Diaries, and the direct connection of the Bethabara Mill Road with both the "King's Road to Virginia" on the north and the "King's Road to Salisbury" on the south--but this map shows no such road from the site of the mill to the north at all. Obviously, the north-south route did not exist as early as 17 November 1753, or in 1754 (by the clear indication of this map) even in the Bethabara area, and wouldn't until the Bethabara Mill was built in November 1755, 21 months after the road to the Shallow Ford was cut.

Two, this map seemingly depicts Adam Spach's road to the south, because it runs

[416] The four chain carriers helping the Bishop and the surveyor William Churton were John Rhode, John Perkin, William Haltham, and William Owen, Jr.

[417] Information obtained from Richard Starbuck, Geneologist for the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem.

[418] In May 1999 this author visited the Moravian Archives, Northern Province, in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, which does not have the original Hoger map, and which the author has yet to find. Even if this is not his map, it must be said that it would take some time to survey even just the area around Bethabara, and do it as accurately as they did.

[419] More settlers started arriving at Bethabara not long afterward.

to the future site of the mill and crosses Mill Creek, and shows no road to Donnaha, as that road out of Bethabara eventually did, even though there had to be some sort of *path* to Donnaha, as the visit of Hans Wagner's son to Bethabara, and Jacob Lash's visit to Wagner on the Yadkin, conclusively proves. As demonstrated earlier, Adam Spach first visited Bethabara on 19 September 1754, which is within the time period (9 February to 19 November 1754) for this Bethabara map. It is also very significant that Adam Spach's first visit there was eleven days before the Boehler-Hoger party left Bethabara, suggesting very strongly that Br. Hoger could have put Spach's New Road on the map.This Hoger map, therefore, conclusively confirms the claim made earlier, that either the so-called 'original' north to south Great Wagon Road or Adam Spach's road had to travel either to Bethabara or very near it.[420] This it must be said is yet another nail in the coffin of Manly Wellman's claim, and by clear inference, Hugh Lefler's also.

And last of all, confirming virtually everything spoken of concerning the supposed Hoger map as well as many others, virtually every official map of the colony and state for 38 years--John Collet's map of 1770, Henry Mouzon's of 1775, Samuel Lewis's of 1795, Henry Cary's of 1806, and one by Jonathan Price and John Strother of 1808[421]--depicts a major road running from Germanton between Bethabara and Bethania to the Shallow Ford. The cartographic documentation of the route is virtually complete; and in answer to the Germanton-Rural Hall Contingent's claim, it is complete even without any reference at all to the Moravian maps of the area.

Gottlieb Reuter's "Wachovia Great Map"

The crown of this evidence, though, is the *Wachauer Grosse Riss*, the "Wachovia Great Map," surveyed and drawn by Gottlieb Reuter from 1758 to 1762 (as noted), and updated from time to time up until 1793.[422] This map is as accurate as any modern map, clearly demonstrating Reuter's exeptional surveying and cartographic expertise. By reference to this as well as several of his other maps of Wachovia, the Road follows the only route that either historical documentation or the topography will allow from Grassy Creek westward, passing through the Haven Crest development behind Beck's Baptist Church, crossing Murray Road just north of Beck's Church Road and Shattalon Drive about a quarter-mile west of there. Just south of Shattalon Drive, where--disgustingly--it has been completely destroyed to expand two *trailer parks*,[423] it crosses Bethabara Road, then runs down present Pembrook Drive, crossing several small, shallow creeks within the development there, and noticeable on the Great Map, the

[420] See page 86.

[421] Cumming, *Maps* : Collet, Plate VII; Mouzon, Plate VIII; Price-Strother, Plate IX. Samuel Lewis map provided by the Museum of the Cape Fear, Fayetteville. The author has heard of, but has not yet located, the Henry Cary map.

[422] Owned by and on display at the Moravian Archives, Winston-Salem. Because of its extremely fragile condition, however, no use can be made of this map except to see it. This author has, however, been granted permission, from time to time, to photograph portions of the Great Map. Richard Starbuck, geneologist for the Moravian Archives, however, has said that they already have photos of the entire Great Map, but which he has been unable to find.

Also, some have stated that the Map was used as a planning tool for the Moravians until well into the late 19th century. If only someone could again photograph the entire Map, it could be used as such again.

[423] The land on which these two trailer parks expanded into, on each side of Bethabara Road just south of Shattalon, once had some of the clearest tracks of the Wagon Road within the corporate boundaries of Winston-Salem.

previously mentioned Bethania Town Lot Map of 1766, and the modern United States Geographical Survey (USGS) topographical maps, and from there crossing Reynolda Road at Old Town Shopping Center, some small remains of it still visible behind the shopping center. It crossed Shattalon Drive again approximately a quarter-mile south of Old Town School. Still traveling west at that spot, just north of present Crossland Drive,[424] it then ran through what is now the Bay Creek housing development--regettably, yet another place lost because of residential or commercial expansion. This was, unfortunately, the last place any significant stretch of the remains of the Wagon Road was still preserved within the corporate boundaries of Winston-Salem, highlighting the commercial and political priorities of Winston-Salem and Forsyth County. It then runs by a still extant section through the woods just west of Bay Creek (*but for how long?*[425]) to Muddy Creek, approximately 150-200 yards north of Yadkinville Highway--Old 421--at the site of Joseph Holder's bridge, thence through the Grandview Golf Course, within which it crosses Wachovia's western border.

The Great Map ends, however, with the Wachovia Tract, unfortunately depicting nothing beyond its borders. This fact requires us to search other sources for documentation of the road to the Shallow Ford, sources that will be explored in the next, and last, chapter.

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[424] In the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this road connected Bethabara with Pfafftown: Crossland, Speas, and the now abandoned stretch of road from the site of the Bethabara Mill to Bethabara itself were parts of this one road. Another part was a road that went between the older and newer sections of Bay Creek, before crossing Muddy Creek where the Wagon Road formerly crossed.

[425] An intriguing fact concerning this is that the developer (and real estate agent) of Bay Creek considers himself historically enlightened, and was actually told of the existence of the old roadbed *by this author* before any development took place on the parcel it was located on. Naturally, that fact does not bode well for the remaining section of the road.

CHAPTER THREE: THE GREAT WAGON ROAD TO THE SHALLOW FORD

The loss of the Granville Plat Maps

The investigation into the route of the Great Wagon Road in Forsyth County has been both a challenge and a threat. The drudgery and challenge of research always leads to the joy in discovering historical truth, and as such is one of the most rewarding experiences one can have. The threat comes from the constant reminders that the truth is not the only opinion out there, and because of several factors, cannot always be discovered. The discovery of this on my part was one of the biggest sensations of irony that I have ever experienced, because of the fact that in the best documented county of the Piedmont of North Carolina that the Wagon Road crossed, it seems strange that both the greatest controversy and lack of any documentary evidence for a major portion of the county could exist at that same time. In no section of the area is this more true than in the western portion of Forsyth County, a section whose documentation, and lack thereof, we must examine next.

A major part of this involves the previously noted fact that about half of the plat maps for the Granville Grants are no longer extant, having been lost or destroyed during the Revolution:

> *There is no certainty about the number of grants made in the Granville District between 1748 and 1763. The Granville heirs in their loyalist claim alleged that 4,363 grants totalling 3,012,487 acres had been made. That count was based on four lists and a record book. . .Local historian and geneologist Margaret M. Hoffman in her published abstracts of Granville land grants counted 4,979 deeds; a recent computer count showed 4,993 grants, a number that includes a few documents counted twice because of the manner in which they were microfilmed.*
>
> *Comparison of the land grant files of original indentures with the Granville entries, warrants, and surveys indicates that many more grants were made than have survived. Of the 4,993 grant documents, only 2,462 have related entry, warrant, and survey files, meaning that 2,531, or more than 50 percent, have no supporting documentation.*
>
> *The evidence indicates that substantial numbers of the records of the Granville land office have been lost. Granville consistently referred to his records as books and papers, and no books are known to have survived. He prescribed a careful record system for the district, but none of his agents followed his instructions.*[426]

The absence of the Granville Grant books, and some papers, constitute an irretrievable loss, forever affecting all that can be known about many areas of the state, including absolutely necessary documentation concerning the Great Wagon Road in the modern Forsyth County. A second part involves the maps made of the area, both Moravian and official colonial-state ones. The truth is, that except for the exceptionally accurate Reuter maps of Wachovia, very few maps depicting anything other than very

[426] Mitchell, *Granville*, pp. 127-28.

small areas of North Carolina (and not *all* of them) were at all accurate in terms of the actual topography of the land before about 1865.[427] The frustratingly ironic nature of this is compounded by the inaccuracy of many of these same Reuter maps in the areas he explored outside of the Wachovia Tract. With this in view we must now examine the four routes and variations that have been argued as the true original Great Wagon Road to the west of Muddy Creek. This must also be accompanied by speculations over things that hint at other possible avenues of research into both the history of the settlement of the Yadkin River valley and the Great Wagon Road--connected with both the Bryant's Settlement and Wachovia--plausible but unverified speculations that are so much a part of western Forsyth County.

The Moravian Maps and the Great Wagon Roads

The area on the west bank of Muddy Creek clearly has its share of controversy over the route of the Wagon Road. As was noted, two of the claims routed the Wagon Road through Bethania. It has already been sufficiently answered, though, that the *town* of Bethania cannot have been on the Great Wagon Road because of the lack of cartographic and documentary evidence from a contemporary date. The earliest map that shows the only route that could possibly be a candidate for this road is the John MacRae-Robert H. B. Brazier North Carolina state map of 1833,[428] which detailed the changes made in the North Carolina road system in the 1820's, 70 or so years after the Wagon Road was cut. The 1766 Bethania Town Lot map does show the Wagon Road running through the southeast corner of the *town lot*, but not the town, which is shown as being almost two miles distant from the road. The first route of the four previously noted is on the earliest map that shows a route running westward from Bethania to the Shallow Ford, the Reuter map of *The East Part of Surrey County*, dated May 10, 1771.[429] This Bethania-Shallow Ford Road merges with the Wagon Road, at that time on present Yadkinville Highway (Old 421), at Bethlehem AME Zion Church, where the remains of the road can still be seen in the woods northeast of the church. While that may indeed be a plausible route for the Great Wagon Road toward the southwest, the major problem with the map is that it depicts no continuous road from Bethania northeast to the future Germanton, as the Wagon Road would have to do were this claim true.

Much of this confusion is due to too many people trying to accomodate mutually exclusive claims into one coherent whole, an exercise that is doomed to complete failure. One example of this, among many, was that of the late Bill McGee of Germanton, President of the Stokes County Historical Society, and charter member of the Wagon Road Committee:

> *The route of this Great Road can be found in "Colonial History of Rowan County", by Samuel James Ervin, Jr. "Beginning in Philidelphia [sic] and going to Lancaster Pa., then to York, Pa. on to Winchester Va., along the Shenandoah Valley and*

[427] Interview of author with William D. Bennett, Raleigh.

[428] Cumming, *Maps*, Plate X.

[429] Map provided by Rod Meyer, from original in Moravian Archives.

Crossing the Fluvanna River at Looney's Ferry, then across the Staunton River, down the Staunton River to the Blue Ridge Mountains, then south, crossing the Dan River below the Mayo, then running southward to near the Yadkin River, then south, crossing the Yadkin at the Trading Ford near Salisbury. A distance of 435 miles and taking 4 to 5 weeks to travel."[430]

. . .crossing Town Fork approximately 200 yards below the mouth of Buffalo Creek, then crossing Buffalo Creek and following the Ridge line between Town Fork Creek and Buffalo Creek southwest into Rural Hall, thence south into Bethenia [sic].[431]

As can be seen immediately, the two claims McGee made here cannot be true simultaneously. To go to Bethania on a route toward the Yadkin obviously means to cross Muddy Creek at Bethania, since Bethania is situated on the east bank of Muddy Creek. Two ridges run away from Bethania on the west side of Muddy Creek, one toward Donnaha, the other toward Mill Creek north of Lewisville. This is also reinforced by the fact that to go through Bethania and yet not to cross Muddy Creek means to run back from there to the road running along the ridge between Grassy Creek on the northeast and Muddy Creek at Pfafftown on the southwest, running between Bethania and Bethabara, *the very route already shown on the Moravian maps of Wachovia*, due to the topography compelling only such a route.[432] The claim of the Wagon Road running through Bethania also necessarily conveys the impression of having to cross the Yadkin at the Shallow Ford, the only *wagon ford* on the Yadkin within thirty miles in either direction.

Yet in the first quote I made here, McGee routed the road to the *Trading Ford*, not the Shallow Ford. He would then have us believe that the road ran either through Lewisville or just north of it (six miles from the Shallow Ford), and then across Muddy Creek *again* at Clemmons (where there is no ford) to join the King's Road to Salisbury, not constructed, as proven in the last chapter, until 1764.

Also, very ironically, there are major problems with *both* of these quotations, i. e., McGee's 'quote' of Sam Ervin's passage, and the actual passage:

The route which the German and Scotch-Irish settlers took in making the overland journey from Pennsylvania to western North Carolina is described by Colonel Saunders as follows:

On Jeffrey's map,[433] *a copy of which is in the Congressional Library at Washington City, there is plainly laid down a road called"the Great Road from the Yadkin River through Virginia to Philadelphia, distant 435 miles." It ran from Philadelphia through Lancaster and York to*

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[430] McGee, Bill, *The Great Road*, unpublished booklet, March 1984, pp. 1-2, hereafter called 'McGee, *Road*.' Sam Ervin was later a United States Senator.

[431] McGee, *Road*, p. 2.

[432] There is a high hill east of Muddy Creek south of Bethania. The original Bethabara-Donnaha Road crossed Muddy Creek at the foot of that hill, unable to run farther south by a cliff rising directly from the creek bank. To avoid running to Donnaha one would have to go to the back side of that hill farther south, precisely where the other road runs.

[433] Thomas Jeffreys was the printer of what is more commonly known as the Fry-Jefferson Map.

Winchester, thence up the Shenandoah Valley, crossing the Fluvanna River[434] to Looney's Ferry, thence to Staunton River, and down the river through the Blue Ridge, thence southward, crossing Dan River below the mouth of Mayo River, thence still southward near the Moravian settlement to the Yadkin River, just above the mouth of Linville Creek and about ten miles above the mouth of Reedy Creek.[435]

The errors presented here involve all parties to this presentation, from colonial days down to the present. The Fry-Jefferson Map of 1755 does depict the road crossing the Dan below the mouth of the Mayo, and therefore through the modern Madison, and yet shows Town Fork Creek entering the Dan still farther downstream, a reversal of fact, the creek actually entering the Dan several miles *upstream* from the Mayo. Town Fork Creek is also shown flowing north, when in fact it flows mainly east. Also, the genuine quote supports none of McGee's contentions concerning the road, the road clearly crossing Town Fork Creek at Germanton; had it crossed the Dan at Madison, it never would have crossed Town Fork Creek. The routing of the road in this quote should be kept in mind by the reader, for it will be discussed fully later in the chapter.

In reading through McGee's booklet, as I have several times over the years, I cannot help but get the impression that Bill McGee was driven to gather all the information that he could possibly find before stating, and seemingly even forming, a personal opinion: a rather commendably cautious approach. Otherwise, why would he retain so many things within his claim that he *had* to have seen were completely incompatible with each other, unless, implausibly, reason had totally deserted him?[436] However, perhaps this assessment of Bill McGee comes from this author's wish to be charitable to all researchers, save those who simply use history to advance an entirely different agenda--i. e., historical *revisionists* instead of *researchers*--and I cannot see Bill McGee as such, hence my own caution in this assessment.

In any case, whether this was true of McGee or not, much of this contention, of all the parties that use it, is based on the John Collet map of 1770 and the Henry Mouzon map of 1775. Both maps show the Great Wagon Road running extremely close to the town of Bethania; indeed, it is actually depicted close enough for many to say that it went *through* Bethania. All this can possibly be, though, is either grasping at straws or selective sourcing, for the same maps, as previously noted, show the road crossing Grassy Creek entirely below its watershed, and therefore near the Hanes Plant, and crossing Muddy Creek halfway between Bethania and where Mill Creek enters it, or in other words, near Pfafftown. Between those two incontrovertible locations, due of course to the extant remains of the Wagon Road on the ground at both places, one has a choice of only one road by reference to all the old maps and the topography, and it most emphatically does *not* go through Bethania, except in the sense of traveling through the southeast corner of its original Town Lot.[437] The entire conception of the northern route--through the future Rural Hall and Bethania--as the Wagon Road,

[434] Now called the James River.

[435] Ervin, Samuel James, Jr., *A Colonial History of Rowan County*, James Sprunt Historical Publications, 1917, p. 11.

[436] A somewhat lower level of education than some others is evident in McGee's booklet, but *madness*? No.

[437] In 1767, the town lot of Bethania was resurveyed, being moved some distance to the north, and expanded from 2000 to 2500 acres. This removed the Wagon Road out of the town lot area. This area of the Bethania Town Lot has been in the news in recent years, due to the annexation problems between the reactivated Bethania town charter of 1839 and Winston-Salem.

therefore, is purely academic, most of the required evidence other than emotional being non-existent. The same cannot be said, though, of the two routes that run from the present Pfafftown to the Shallow Ford, numbers Two and Three of the four routes. The intriguing thing about these routes is that both can legitimately be called the Great Wagon Road.

The cartographic evidence for these roads are Gottlieb Reuter's maps of 1761, 1762 , 1766 (4 of them), January 1767, January 1770, and May 1771 (Surry map).[438] All of them show a row of four outlots running away from Wachovia toward the southwest. The outlots were granted by Lord Granville--from 1755 to 1762--to the Moravians in compensation for poor land found within Wachovia's borders. Additional map documentation can be found on the very maps just noted: John Collet 1770 and Henry Mouzon 1775 maps of North Carolina. All eleven maps depict the Wagon Road as crossing Grassy Creek near the present Hanes Mill and Muddy Creek at the present Pfafftown.

The second of the four routes travels more or less down Yadkinville Road to Ted's Kickin' Chicken restaurant, at its intersection with Robinhood Road; then across country by the site of Frederick Miller's 1798 mill on Mill Creek,[439] in the valley of which was an old Indian camp between this road and the river a half-mile away; across Grapevine Road and through the old Samuel Kirby plantation to Dorse Road; thence to Shallow Ford Road near Highway 421, and down Shallow Ford Road to Williams Road and thence to the Shallow Ford.

The third runs south of Pfafftown across Yadkinville Highway, Spicewood Drive, and Bill Branch, Olivet Church Road, Tomahawk Creek, Robinhood Road, down Glad Acres Road and across country to Shiloh Lutheran Church on Lewisville-Vienna Road, down to Shallow Ford Road, and thence more or less down Shallow Ford Road to Highway 421, just east of which it merged with route #2, and thence to Williams Road and the Shallow Ford.

The Lewisville area is consequential in any discussion of not only the true route of the Wagon Road, but in discussion of the possible origin of the original route to the Bryant's Settlement. Lewisville is at the head of four creek systems that run to the Yadkin, and one that runs to Muddy Creek, an irresistable draw for the animals and Indians for centuries. The historical possibilities of this and other factors impact on this inquiry quite substantially. Historical documentation for this plausible speculation involves some court records and grants for settlers in the Bryant's Settlement, various Indian remains, and some Moravian Diary entries and maps.

The Moravian Road to the Shallow Ford and the trail to the Trading Path

The Moravian Records state that the Brethren started cutting the Wagon Road to the Yadkin on 18 February 1754, more than likely from the King's Road crossing of Grassy Creek, a claim that will be substantially proven shortly. The Diary entry for the day reads thus:

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[438] All maps provided by Rod Meyer, from originals in Moravian Archives.

[439] The date stone for the mill is still preserved by the Conrad family in the 1856 Pilot View farm house, on the other side of Mill Creek from the mill site.

After morning prayers seven Brethren went to clear a road to the Etkin, so that our wagon can go thither for meal and corn. At noon Br. Merkli followed them on horseback, taking provisions and blankets. Evening Br. Herman came home bringing report how far the way had been opened.[440]

The destination of this road was probably the Shallow Ford, deduceable from the passage about the *wagon* [going] *thither for meal and corn.* It must be noted that only at four fords, the Etkin Ford at Elkin, White's or White Rock Ford at Rockford, Shallow Ford, and the Catawba or Trading Ford near Salisbury, each approximately thirty miles apart, could a wagon ford the river; the other five fords in the 93 miles from Elkin to Salisbury[441] were only horse or foot fords. In connection with this it has also been noted that Bishop Spangenberg's journal mentioned a mill 19 miles from Wachovia, a probable reference to Abraham Cresson's mill, on Turner Creek in present Yadkin County, four miles from the Shallow Ford, and 19 miles from Bethabara.

The Moravian Diary entry of two days later explains some more about this intriguing road:

Toward evening the Brethren returned from the Etkin. Last night they spent with Isaac Ferry [Isaac Ferree], who took good care of them and expressed a very friendly spirit toward the Brethren. The road which they have made is eight and a half miles long, and lies well.[442]

This Diary entry is one of the facts in this inquiry that is both seemingly clear and frustratingly cryptic. The route of this road was, obviously, clear to the people who cut it, and would need no explanation to them and many more people over the years that it was used, but this entry is of no help in deciphering its route today. It opens up three possibilities for discussion of this route. The first is connected with Isaac Ferree, a well-known tavern keeper and ferry operator of the Bryant's Settlement, and one of the first six or seven settlers there in 1747-48. The Rowan Court of Common Pleas and Quarterly Sessions of 15 September 1753 recorded his grant from that court to operate both a hostelry at his home and a ferry on the river, an identical authorization also granted to Edward Hughes on the same day. From 1752 to 1754 Ferree lived on Logan Creek in Yadkin County, three miles north of the Shallow Ford. He also owned the land in present Forsyth County next to the Yadkin Islands at Fries' Creek--could it have originally been *Ferree's Creek?*--approximately halfway between Highway 67 at Donnaha and Yadkinville Highway or Old 421, the possible location of his ferry:

Mar. 4 [1768]. The Brn. Reuter and Triebel went by way of Bethania to the Landing Place at Isaac Free's plantation on the Yadkin, where yesterday David

[440] Fries, *Records*, p. 95.

[441] The other fords were Island Ford (three miles east of Jonesville, Yadkin County, where William Fish and his son were killed by Indians in 1760); Crutchfield Ford (just downstream from U. S. Highway 601 at Crutchfield in Surry County); Shoals Ford (also called Bean Shoals, north of East Bend, Yadkin County), not even suitable for horses but only by foot; Donnaha Ford (just north of U. S. Highway 67, named for Chief Donnaho of the Cherokee, also called Yellow Bank Ford); and the Yadkin Islands Ford (midway between Highway 67 and Yadkinville Road).

[442] Fries, *Records*, p. 96.

Allen brought a good lot of pine boards for us.[443]

Gottlieb Reuter, the surveyor and cartographer, at that time still lived in Bethabara, not moving to Salem until later. The route that goes from Bethabara to Bethania runs northwest, a direction one would have to take to either Donnaha or the three Yadkin Islands. Intriguingly, it is exactly eight and a half miles from Grassy Creek to the Yadkin Islands. Equally so, it is precisely 19 miles by that route from Bethabara to Cresson's Mill on Turner Creek. In addition, remains of an Indian path, and now a country road winding back and forth across the face of the hill, can still be seen running from those islands on the Yadkin County side toward the Shallow Ford,[444] other parts of it now variously called Flint Hill, Yadkinville, Baltimore, and Dinkins Bottom roads. Let the reader keep this in mind, for more must be said about this scenario later.

The second possibility is connected with the Indian camp on Mill Creek near the Yadkin. This camp was not quite nine miles from Grassy Creek. Another--and much bigger--Indian village was the one in Yadkin County about a mile north of the Shallow Ford--Highway 421 travels over the spot about 100 yards from the river--some four miles downstream from Mill Creek. The third route runs from Grassy Creek to the present Lewisville, also eight and a half miles from Grassy Creek.

A question poses itself in regard to these last two routes: *How did the Moravian Brethren know what route to cut on 18 February 1754, and why did they cut it?* The why is probably easiest to answer: access to Cresson's Mill 19 miles away, until they built their own mill. The answer to *what route* is connected with two passages in the Diaries, one of which was this:

Feb. 10. Sunday. After morning prayers several Brethren went to seek out a way for a road to the Etkin, returning in the afternoon.[445]

This certainly explains when they went to lay off what they were going to cut, but it's clearly not a complete discussion of every possible scenario. A wider possibility is that they knew beforehand what general direction to go on this journey, having known that the Yadkin was southwest of the Wachovia Tract, even on their first day there. Another complementary scenario comes from their exploration of 28-30 November 1753, when they discovered Edward Sweeting on their land near South Fork Creek, and merely went this time to nail down the actual route to be cut. The full explanation requires an extensive discussion, concerning several different historical artifacts.

It must be remembered that James Carter's letter of authorization from Francis Corbin, and Edward Sweeting's grant and plat map all mention a *waggon ford* on South Fork Creek. Interestingly, the top of the hill to its south is the site of an Early Archaic Indian village--c. 8000-5000 B. C.--the hills and creek valleys flanking it now occupied by a Winston-Salem construction landfill. To its northwest, the Indian sites

[443] Fries, *Records*, p. 377. David Allen operated a mill in the settlement named for him, near the present Elkin and Jonesville, in Surry and Yadkin counties. The pine boards were to be used in building the new structures in Salem, one of which still stands: the Fourth House, built that year, now the oldest extant structure in Old Salem.

[444] Information obtained from Al Hudson of the Yadkin County Historical and Geneological Society, who has seen the remains of this road.

[445] Fries, *Records*, p. 94.

include several fish traps on Muddy Creek between U. S. Highway 421 and I-40;[446] an Indian arrowhead quarry on Blanket Bottom Creek at Highway 421, which has been totally lost due to construction of Kaplan's School Supply and the offices of Duke Power;[447] an Indian trail tree in downtown Lewisville, cut down, unfortunately, in 1964 in order to build an apartment building; and the camp on Mill Creek, all almost in a straight line.[448] To the southeast of the ford Indian sites run all the way to the Uwharrie Mountains (also almost in a straight shot), through which the Great Trading Path traveled, itself a series of Indian trails probably over a thousand years old, and perhaps even more.

These known sites seem to confirm the existence of an Indian trail, and one which the settlers of the Bryant's Settlement may have later taken to this area, because it is known that the Bryants owned land on the Trading Path in present Orange County, and this route would have been much closer for them to take than to catch the Trading Path at Salisbury. It would also explain the Moravians' discovery of Edward Sweeting, if they traveled as far as present Lewisville--which they indeed had time to have done--with its numerous springs and creeks and an Indian trail running through it, straight to the *waggon ford* which was actually an *Indian ford*, seemingly of several millenia in age. There is no proof of this, however, because the loss of some of these sites--as proven earlier--are symptomatic of the late 20th century approach to history in Forsyth County, an approach that obliterates much that could make historical matters clear.

These possibilities, therefore, are exclusively and strictly that, for several reasons. One, the Moravians did not mention a trail at all on their expedition when they found Sweeting, even though the Indian artifacts strongly suggest one. Two, for the first of the three possibilities, the route to the Yadkin Islands, there is no cartographic documentation for such a road from Bethabara of *any* date, and only one of a later date, 1833, to Salem,[449] the remains of which can still be seen in various places. The quotation on the previous page also said that to go to Ferree's Landing Place, the Brn. Reuter and Triebel had to go through *Bethania*, making it approximately nine miles, and perhaps a bit more, to that location, even though they had the Donnaha Road directly from Bethabara, that ran by the Bethabara Mill and running not through Bethania but skirting it to its south. That same quote also lends a strong hint as to when the road to Salem from the Yadkin Islands was first cut, for David Allen provided much lumber from his mill for the construction of Salem, and floated much of it to Ferree's Landing. Also, not only is there no map showing a road to Bethabara from the Three Islands, but there are no visible remains of such a road on the ground, at least, none that I've ever seen either on the ground or depicted on any United States Geological Survey (USGS) topographical map. While obviously these are intriguing, speculative possibilities, they have no proof at the present time, nor does it seem that there can ever be any.

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[446] Carswell.

[447] Carswell.

[448] Based on account by anthropologist Ned Woodall, Wake Forest University.

[449] This route can be seen on the John MacRae-Robert H. B. Brazier North Carolina state map of 1833: Cumming, *North Carolina in Maps*, Plate X. The date of this map is interesting in light of this scenario: the probable cutting of the road, due to the need to transport the lumber from Ferree's Landing to Salem, was in 1768, *65 years earlier than the first map depicting it.* What does that say for the other roads?

Another small aside must be presented here, before resuming the main discussion. As stated in the last chapter, in connection with the "German lad," and his probable identification with Hans Wagner's son, we had noted that Jacob Lash had obtained meal from Wagner. Wagner's new house was only 16 miles from Bethabara, and Cresson's Mill was nineteen, suggesting that the Moravians went to Wagner because he was nearer. However, the only way they could transport the meal from Wagner would have been by pack horse, not wagon, the Donnaha Ford not being suitable for wagons. Also, as just stated in the previous paragraph, the Moravians were preparing to build their own mill, which would of course have eliminated the need to go to either Cresson or Wagner: this trip to Wagner was only one of the first stopgap measures employed to provide meal for the Moravian settlers in Wachovia. Cutting the road toward the Shallow Ford was the second, and construction of their own mill, in November 1755, was the fulfillment of the Moravian's plans. Their own mill also answered their increasingly greater need for meal, due to more and more Moravians arriving in the Wachovia Tract over the years, and the probability of neither Cresson nor Wagner, and probably both combined, being able to supply the needs of the number of settlers arriving in the Wachovia Tract.

There is also one other factor hinted at in the Diary passages at that time:

> *Feb. 18 [1754]. After morning prayers seven Brethren went to clear a road to the Etkin, so that our wagon can go thither for meal and corn.*[450]

> *Feb. 19. After morning prayers Br. Kalberlahn went to the Etkin to see his patients. . .In the evening Hans Wagner's son came, . . .*

> *Feb. 20. Hans Wagner's son went home. Toward evening the Brethren returned from the Etkin.*

> *Feb. 21. At noon Br. Loesch returned from the Etkin, . . .*[451]

It will be immediately noticed that none of these Brethren and others, with the very possible exception of Jacob Lash and Hans Wagner's son, had any contact with each other during these trips. This would naturally suggest that the seven Brethren, Dr. Kalberlahn, and Jacob Lash had taken three separate paths toward the Yadkin. Two of them are definite: the Brethren cutting their road toward the Shallow Ford, for the use of the wagon, and Jacob Lash to Wagner's new house, near the Donnaha Ford, which was unsuitable for wagons, as previously noted. The questions must then be asked: Where was Dr. Kalberlahn? How did he get where he was going?

Some previous entries in the Diaries may give us a hint:

> *Jan. 30. In the afternoon Isaac Ferry came with two men from the Etkin, to take the doctor to see his sick wife; . . .* [452]

[450] Fries, *Records*, p. 95.
[451] Fries, *Records*, p. 96.
[452] Fries, *Records*, p. 93.

Feb. 6. Br. Kalberlahn bled the Brn. Grube and Merkli, then he and Br. Loesch set out for the Etkin, where the doctor will visit Isaac Ferry's sick wife, according to his urgent request.

Feb. 7. In the evening Brn. Jacob Loesch and Kalberlahn returned from the Etkin, where Br. Kalberlahn has attended seven patients, and the people are very thankful that he is willing to serve them.[453]

Since by that time Isaac Ferree was either getting ready to move or had just moved to the land at the Yadkin Islands, in present Forsyth County, from his land on Logan's Creek, this brings up the possibility of a road to that spot on the river, rather than across the Shallow Ford. It certainly suggests another access road to the Bryant's Settlement from points to the northeast and southeast, such as the Dan River and the Wachovia Tract.

The Bryant's Settlement and the "Road to the Dan River"

A real problem is highlighted by these mentions of the possible road to the Yadkin Islands, both previously (see page 127) and as just stated. A plat map depicting what is clearly a tract in the present Forsyth County has a description on it that is clearly of interest to this inquiry, lending some plausibility to the Germanton-Rural Hall-Bethania route:

This Plan Represents a Tract of Land Surveyed for Morgan Bryant Junr: Beg: at a White Oak on the North Bank of Yadkin River near where the Road goes from thence to Dan River. . .Containing 141 Acres Surveyed Jan: ye 9th 1748-9.

Much of historical interest is contained within this plat map. One of the first is of the date. Before 1752, England was still on the Julian calendar, which was eleven days deficient from the Gregorian calendar. Also, before that same year 1752, New Year's Day was not on 1 January, but 25 March; and when three-fourths of the year had passed, in other words, to 1 January, the date began to be written as the above date is written: still in 1748 but approaching 1749. To those of us who are used to using the Gregorian calendar, the above date would be read as 20 January 1749, but it wasn't that way to those who lived then.

A second thing that must be asked is this: *Where was this tract?* Could it have been at the Shallow Ford, making this road a proto-Great Wagon Road? The temptation to say "Yes" is certainly there, but other things must also be taken into account. First, according to all available evidence, Edward Hughes owned the land on the present Forsyth County side of the Shallow Ford, but this survey was to Morgan Bryant, Jr., not to Hughes. Second, the route of the river shown on the map does not match that of the area of the Shallow Ford; indeed, it curves in exactly the opposite direction. Could it depict the area of the Yadkin Islands, where Fries Creek enters the river and a horse

[453] Fries, *Records*, p. 94.

or foot ford crosses it? The route of the river is certainly the same as that in the area of the Islands, particularly to the south of them;[454] but if it was there, where are the Islands, one of the most distinctive features of the river in that area, on this map? Surely, if this is near that spot, they would have been depicted, or at least mentioned.

This Yadkin Islands scenario, it must be said, lends some hint of plausibility to the Rural Hall claim, because of the way the subsequent road would have to run. But, if it does run to the Yadkin Islands, it cannot be the Great *Wagon* Road, the Yadkin Islands Ford not being suitable for wagons. Also, until the location of this survey is fixed with certainty, and the remains of a road running in that direction is found, it is also evident that it is only a *potential* plausibility, as the other scenario also must be.

I must now examine an aside that deals with a former claim in this book, because of its connection with this very map: that of the existence of the Mulberry Fields Road (see page 56, n. 214) and its connection with the original surveying journey of Bishop Spangenberg and William Churton. Part of that claim involved whether certain people were of the original members of the Bryant's Settlement. Ramsey, in *Carolina Cradle*, listed seven such original members, including James Carter and Squire Boone, but did not list, among others, Abraham Cresson, the miller, whose mill was probably the immediate reason for the Moravians cutting the Wagon Road toward the Shallow Ford, as previously examined. Robert Ramsey was an excellent historical investigator, and his word has been considered impeccably accurate by many over the years, as indeed he has been in this book, also.

However, when we examine this plat map for Morgan Bryant, Jr., we discover that the second of the two sworn chain carriers for the survey is *Abraham Cresson*, proven to have been in the Bryant's Settlement *less than a year after it was founded.* The claim that Cresson was not there is, therefore, an excellent example of historical revision, not historical investigation.

Sentimentality and historical revisionism

The Yadkinville Highway route

For the two routes of the Wagon Road that we have been considering, from Pfafftown to the Shallow Ford, the term *plausible possibility* does not apply, the route not only having been mapped, but still existing in various places on the ground itself. The first, as noted, traveled more or less down Yadkinville Highway from Pfafftown by Bethlehem AME Zion Church--where the c. 1771 Bethania-Shallow Ford Road joined it--to Ted's Kickin' Chicken Restaurant at Robinhood Road. It then traveled across Yadkinville Highway to the eastern part of the *River John* Conrad farm--called by tradition *River View*--and then according to old maps and existing tracks on the ground, at Friedrich Miller's 1798 house and mill:[455]

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[454] The survey began on the north, with the ford to its north, as indeed the location of the Yadkin Islands Ford would itself suggest.

[455] John Gilmore, Chairman of the Wagon Road Committee, has a copy of the original map of the house, outbuildings, and mill of Frederick Miller, also depicting the roads running by them. Any future archaeological investigation of the site would be aided immesurably by this map.

John Conrad, known as "River John" because he operated a ferry across the Yadkin, built this house in 1804 when he married Elizabeth Miller.[456]

Feb. 13 [1825]. We had a visit from John Conrad's (River Conrad's) wife, accompanied by Sr. Philippina Conrad.[457]

Aug. 22 [1829]. Went with Nancy and Br. John Stolz to John Conrad's on Yadkin River.[458]

May 1 [1835]. Today I visited John Conrad (river man) but he was away on a visit to the West.[459]

May 5 [1816]. By request, Br. Kluge preached at the home of Friedrich Miller.[460]

Dec. 21 [1817]. Br. Kluge preached by request at the home of Friedrich Miller, seven miles from here.[461]

April 29 [1818]. By request, in the German Church beyond Muddy Creek, Br. Kluge held the funeral of the married man Friedrich Miller, who died last evening in that neighborhood.[462]

The road then crossed present Grapevine Road, and Davenport Creek at Eugene Conrad's lake, just below the hill his 1857 *Pilot View* house was built on, which was renamed *Hilltop Farm* in 1933. One can then trace its route across present Conrad Road and entering the Samuel Kirby plantation--of 1787, with a very well-preserved mile of old road through it--bound for the present Dorse Road, which it followed to Shallow Ford Road, not far east of Highway 421. It then traveled down Shallow Ford Road to Williams Road, and Williams to the Yadkin bottom and the Shallow Ford.

For about three of the eleven years I've been in the Wagon Road Committee, I believed in this route for the road very strongly, for several reasons. First, a clearly old track is still visible over much of this route, a very rare occurence, especially considering current Forsyth County political and development priorities. Second, if one were to draw this route out on a modern Forsyth County map, it would be seen to be the shortest one from Pfafftown, where the Wagon Road clearly ran, to the Shallow Ford, being very nearly a straight shot. Three, many residents of the area still refer to it

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[456] Taylor, *Factory*, p. 174. John Conrad and Elizabeth Miller were actually married in 1803. The Frederick Miller home and mill were about a quarter mile south of River John's house, on Mill (or Miller's) Creek. The large 1798 German mill, which straddled Mill Creek, was probably the commercial center of the present Lewisville at the time. The foundations of the house, kitchen, and some outbuildings can still be seen north of Mill Creek.

[457] Rights, Douglas L., *Records of the Moravians in North Carolina, Vol. VIII*, Raleigh, State Department of Archives and History, 1954, p. 3754; hereafter called 'Rights, *Records VIII* .'

[458] Rights, *Records VIII*, p. 3894.

[459] Rights, *Records VIII* , p. 4200.

[460] Fries, *Records VII*, p. 3314.

[461] Fries, *Records VII*, p. 3358.

[462] Fries, *Records VII*, p. 3387.

as the Great Wagon Road.[463] Four, the Surry County map of 1771, drawn by Gottlieb Reuter, shows the Wagon Road in what can only be this location. Five--in an exercise on my part of what can only be called *geneological correctness*--the road runs through the Samuel Kirby plantation on the Yadkin,[464] purchased in 1851[465] by Dr. Fletcher Wilson Stimson (1818-1855), a surgeon from Davidson County, and my great-great-grandfather.

Sentimentality vs. Documentation

This claim, tested by all four of my criteria, seemed to be irrefutable, a seeming fact which was also excited by my sentimentality over my ancestor. However, the Surry County map has proven to be the oldest documentation that I have ever seen for it, and indeed the *only* such documentation for many years. As previously noted, there are nine extant maps of the day that show the row of four Moravian outlots on them, including the Surry map. On that map, the Wagon Road is shown running completely to the north of them, obviously running down or near modern Yadkinville Highway. On all the others it runs through them, including the Reuter map of January 1770, produced only 16 months before the Surry map. Even the John Collet map of 1770, Henry Mouzon's of 1775, Samuel Lewis' of 1795, and Henry Cary 1806 maps do not depict this road, a very surprising fact considering its documented early date. The first official map of North Carolina that shows it is the Jonathan Price-John Strother map of 1808. It must therefore be said that this route became the Great Wagon Road in late 1770 or early 1771, and as such deserves recognition. But it clearly was not the earliest route, or if these maps are to be believed at all, not even the most important one until the late 18th century at the absolute earliest.

Ironies

The search for the REAL Wagon Road

My investigation into this very elusive original route of the Great Wagon Road has led countless times to Salisbury, county seat of Rowan County; Dobson, of Surry County; and Danbury, of Stokes; the Division of Archives and History in Raleigh; and even to Williamsburg, Philadelphia, and Bethlehem, in search of land grants, plat maps, court documents, photographs, diaries and memorabilia, and anything else possibly useful in determining this original route of the Great Wagon Road. 'Ironic' is indeed the word to describe the investigation into its route, especially in west central Forsyth County. This is especially so around my hometown of Lewisville, since my hope that it ran through it, based as it was on the Historical Map of Forsyth County, seemed mere sentimentality, with no documentation to support it.

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[463] Particularly the Conrad, Huffman, Bailey, and Dorse families, residents of that area of Lewisville.

[464] Surry Deed Book E, p. 142, 4 July 1788, and Deed Book F, p. 286, 30 August 1787. The basement of the c. 1800 Kirby (later Stimson) House, which burned down c. 1940, can still be seen in the woods a quarter-mile west of Conrad Road near the northwest corner of the Town of Lewisville. The very dramatic road cut of the 1771 Wagon Road can still be followed through the woods for approximately a mile here.

[465] Forsyth Deed Book 1, p. 600, 3 October 1851. The Stimson family graveyard (the first grave dating to 1853) is in the woods about 200 yards from the site of the house.

Lewisville and the Salem-Shallow Ford Road

Another major irony in this investigation is that my subsequent belief in the Salem-Shallow Ford Road of 1772 as the oldest road through Lewisville is also false: the ten miles recorded in the Moravian Diaries as the length of that road would only bring one to. . .yes, Lewisville.[466] This fact naturally raises the question: *What road, considering the known topography of the land between Muddy Creek and the Yadkin River, could possibly have gone the additional six miles to the Shallow Ford except the Great Wagon Road?*

Lewisville, the Great Wagon Roads, and the loss of the Granville plats

Yet another frustrating irony is that from Lewisville there is *still* a choice of two routes to the Shallow Ford, both dating to the 18th century, and both called, at one place or another, the Shallow Ford Road.

Another irony still, and one especially significant to the previous one, is that many of the Granville Grants and plat maps for present Forsyth County, as well as many other counties, are no longer extant, having been lost during the Revolution. Only about half are complete, a distressing factor in this investigation. Yet another indignity is that the five contemporary maps of the area between Muddy Creek and the river--Gottlieb Reuter's of October 1767, January 1770, and May 1771; John Collet's of 1770; and Henry Mouzon's of 1775--are not at all accurate in terms of the actual topography.This is especially discouraging when one considers Reuter's phenomenal quality and accuracy on these same maps in regard to the Wachovia Tract. This fact is highlighted by another fact: Gottlieb Reuter's *freehand* map of 1762 is more accurate in some ways than these maps.

A third indignity associated with this is that of the death of Lord Granville on 2 January 1763. After word of his death was received in North Carolina, various illegal but understandably required activities took place with regard to the issuance of the remaining land grants:

> *The land office closed when word of Granville's death was received in North Carolina. As one result, thirty-seven deeds for land in Johnston County were backdated from April 1 to January 1, 1763. In a few instances, principally in Johnston County, entries were filed, warrants issued, and surveys returned into the middle of the year. In Northhampton County, a warrant was issued for John Boykin on May 5, 1763, the land was surveyed on May 10, and an endorsement on the warrant indicated that a deed dated January 1, 1763, was issued to him.*[467]

The fact that historical researchers are now required to not only sift through records that are only half complete, but also with grants such as these that are at least partially fraudulent, adds insult to injury.

Such is the final, unvarnished truth about these Granville maps, a fact clearly implying the complete and utterly final frustration inherent in this investigation, unless

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[466] Fries, *Records II*, p. 704.

[467] Mitchell, *Granville*, pp. 116-17.

sometime or somehow--implausibly--the lost plat maps are found, or that they are not found to be fraudulent.[468] And yet, when one who knows well the topography of the western third of Forsyth County--as this author does--studies these plat maps along with modern USGS topographical maps, and tries to correlate them with the actual topography and the known tracks on the ground, one can make an educated guess as to the real route of this final five to six mile section of the Great Wagon Road in Forsyth County.

Pfafftown, Lewisville, and the Shallow Ford

Before doing so, though , we must back up to the place we left off in our discussion of the Wagon Road west of Muddy Creek, the old Moravian community of Pfafftown. Pfafftown is very sentimental to me, not only for it being at the fork of the two routes of the Wagon Road, but also for two of my great-great-great-great-grandfathers:

> *June 5 [1769]. Three families arrived from Pennsylvania, [among them] Christian Conrad with his wife. . . .After resting a few hours Br. and Sr. Conrad went on to their farm four miles from Bethabara, on the west line of Wachovia (which his father, Jacob Conrad, had bought the preceding year, and on which a cabin had been erected on the 19th of the past month by men from the South Fork).*[469]

> *June 11 [1771]. This morning Peter Pfaff and his family arrived, and wish to settle in Wachovia. He is a communicant Brother from the congregation of Yorktown in Pennsylvania.* [470]

> *Feb. 27 [1785]. The house-fathers [of Friedburg Church] met to elect a new steward, as Br. Pfaff, who has faithfully and punctually performed the duties of this office for ten years, will soon move to his son Isaac near Bethania.*[471]

> *Feb. 19 [1814]. Br. Kluge went to the Pfaff settlement, and held religious instruction for the young people there.*[472]

> *Jan. 12 [1822]. Suitable places for such meetings would be in the house of Br. Peter Pfaff [Peter Pfaff, Jr.], in Pfafftown, and in the house of Br. Jacob Krieger.*[473]

Christian Conrad (1744-1800) was thus the first resident of the future Pfafftown, and

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[468] Even that scenario assumes that the plat maps, once they are found, have a road depicted on them, but not all of even the extant ones do.

[469] Fries, *Records*, p. 391. Friedrich Boeckel (now Beckel), Maria Beckel Conrad's brother, was probably one of the *men from the South Fork.* Their other brother was Johann Nicholas Beckel of Bethania. Johann Nicholas Beckel owned the land on the west side of Grassy Creek north of Bethabara, where the Wagon Road passed.

[470] Fries, *Records*, p. 468. Yorktown, Pennsylvania is now simply called York.

[471] Fries, *Records V*, p. 2112.

[472] Fries, *Records VII*, p. 3244.

[473] Fries, *Records VII*, p. 3521. Peter Pfaff, Jr. was the youngest child of Peter, Sr., and was this author's 3rd great-grandfather.

Peter Pfaff, Sr. (1727-1804) the namesake of the town. This third of the four previously noted routes crosses Yadkinville Highway just west of Muddy Creek, then Spicewood Drive, and climbs to the top of Pfaff Lane. From there it turns south across the Gordon Hanes farm, and crosses his lake on Bill Branch at the foot of the hill. Bill Branch marks the northern edge of the first of the previously noted four outlots, a 640 acre tract first granted by Lord Granville in 1755 to Henry Cossart--Henri Cossart de Saint Aubin D'Espiez, 1714-1763, agent for the Moravian Church:[474]

> *June 3 [1755]. Mr. Churton left, having surveyed about 1280 acres of good land for Br. Cossart.*[475]

From Bill Branch it traveled by the ends of both the Salem West and Buckingham Park developments, between them crossing the Karl Stimpson property--another Christian Conrad and Peter Pfaff descendant. First traveling south, then southwest, it crossed Olivet Church Road near its intersection with Spicewood Drive, this also being, from Bill Branch, yet another well-preserved mile of old road. It then crossed Tomahawk Creek almost a mile west of there, and in so doing crossed yet another 640 acre Cossart outlot (the other of the two outlots mentioned in the last quote just above), sold by Hutton to Abraham and Benjamin Leinbach in 1767:[476]

> *Dec. 30 [1768]. Benjamin Leinbach came to Br. Graff and announced his engagement to Andreas Volk's daughter, Christine, and asked for the publication of the Banns, and that we would marry him.*[477]

> *Feb. 5 [1781]. Ludwig Leinbach came with the distressing news, that as a kitchen was being blocked up at Abraham Leinbach's the six and a half year old son of Abraham was killed by a falling log.*[478]

Just east of Tomahawk Creek was the beginning of a 720 acre outlot granted by Lord Granville to Jacob Lash in 1759,[479] sold to his brothers George and Adam in 1764:[480]

> *Oct. 1 [1764]. Adam Loesch and his family arrived from Pennsylvania; they will settle in the neighborhood.*

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[474] Fries, *Records*, p. 129. The two Mulberry Fields Tracts near present Wilkesboro, among other properties, were held in trust for the Moravians by Henry Cossart. The litigation for those pieces of property makes for a fascinating read into the greed, stubbornness, and hypocrisy of many, over a period of 78 years (1778-1856).

[475] Fries, *Records*, p. 131.

[476] Rowan Deed Book 7, pp. 328-329; Linn, *Deed Abstracts*, p. 110.

[477] Fries, *Records*, p. 376. Marriage almost always meant a new home and farm of the couple's own. Benjamin already had his on the Shallow Ford Road, southwest from his late father's farm in the 2000 acre Leinbach Settlement. He also owned 400 acres of that 2000, being willed it by his father: Veazie, Isabel, *As Near As Possible to the Brethren*, presented in Griffin, *Three Forks IV*, 1977, pp.19-27.

[478] This was a kitchen built of logs: the German word for building with logs was *aufgeblockt*. The word denoting framed construction was *aufgeschlagen*.

[479] Rowan Deed Book 4, p. 114, 22 February 1759; Linn, *Court Abstracts*, p. 50.

[480] Rowan Deed Book 7, p. 41, September 1764; Linn, *Court Abstracts, Vol. II*, p. 102.

Oct. 4. Adam and George Loesch arranged with Br. Gammern for the purchase of one of our Out-Lots, between here and the Yadkin. It contains 700 acres, and the price is £100 Proc.[481]

Nov. 15. The Brn. Marshall, Loesch, Frommelt and Bagge rode to George Loesch's, saw the Yadkin and Cossart's land, and returned in the evening.[482]

Edward Hughes, the Regulators, George Lash, and the Wagon Road

This outlot is one of the most significant in the Lewisville area, because it is consequential in two ways. First, both the grant from Granville and its plat map mention it as *lying on both sides of Stewart's Creek and both sides of the Shallow Ford Road,* both the creek and the road being depicted on the map. Second, it is mentioned in the previously noted passage of 1771, the Moravian Diary recording a confrontation with the Regulators, which reads thus:

March 16. Last night a large wolf was caught in the trap near the brewery; the night before wolves came into the lane behind the shed, and would probably have broken into the sheep-fold had not the baying of the dogs brought people to drive them away. This seemed almost a prophecy of the events of the day, for this afternoon the party of Regulators from the Yadkin appeared as they said, and summoned the Brn. Marshall, Bonn, and Bagge to the Tavern. They were told if they had anything to say they might come to Br. Marshall's room, so a dozen of them came, with Edward Hughes, who acted as spokesman. His first complaint was that the Stewards had been unjustly treated, in that Br. Jacob Loesch had measured for himself a piece of land on which their father had paid a sum of money,--the amount not stated,-- to Carter, at that time County Clerk; and that Br. Jacob Loesch had then sold the land to his brothers, George and Adam,-- of whom the former was present,-- and that they had settled on it. As all these transactions took place before the arrival in Wachovia of the three Brethren above mentioned, the only thing to be done would be to summon Jacob Loesch to North Carolina, and that they would have to send the call themselves. The other complaint Hughes made on his own account, saying that he had paid a certain sum of money to Mr. Corbin for the land on which Bethabara stands; he could show no written proof of this, but demanded £30, saying many harsh and untrue things about Br. Joseph, who had taken this land from him, etc. In short, the trumped-up complaint of these people was only groundless babbling, but they were answered politely and seriously, and they and their unfounded pretensions were referred to the persons concerned, and with that

[481] Proclamation money, denoted so by Queen Anne, queen of England from 1702 to 1714, the last ruler of England before the creation of Great Britain; the proclamation stated that, due to the scarcity of hard currency in the colonies, Spanish and French money could also be used as legal currency. It was in this way that the future United States came to base its currency on the Spanish Milled Dollar, or Piece of Eight.

[482] Fries, *Records*, pp. 290-91. 'Cossart's land', as noted above, was the two outlots north and east of George Lash's, the first one of which became Christian Conrad's in 1769, the second becoming Abraham and Benjamin Leinbach's in 1767. All three were crossed by the Wagon Road.

they left. They may have wanted to try whether the terrifying name of Regulator would not frighten us into giving them what they wanted.[483]

Lewisville and THE Wagon Road

The plat map of this very tract shows the track of the Wagon Road crossing it, and can be traced from Tomahawk Creek south across Robinhood Road, more or less down Glad Acres Road, and crossing Stewart's Creek, named for the Stewards of this entry in the Diary,[484] to the north edge of present *Shamrock Country Estates*, a luxury home development off Shallow Ford Road in Lewisville, this being another very-well-preserved trace of old road. It then followed along the northern edge of both the Shamrock and *Windham Farm* house developments, and came to Lewisville-Vienna Road just north of Shiloh Lutheran Church, the oldest church congregation in Lewisville, founded between 1774 and 1777 as the *German Church beyond Muddy Creek*, in the *German Settlement on the Yadkin* --as they were named in the Moravian Diaries:

Feb. 9 [1776]. Br. Lorenz went to the settlement between the Muddy Creek and the Atkin and preached in Doll's house to at least fifty attentive listeners.[485]

June 7. Friday, The barley was finished, and mowing begun. Br. Lorenz went to the German settlement on the Yadkin to preach.[486]

Aug. 2. Br. Lorenz went to the German settlement, and made an address in Johann Muller's house.[487]

Dec. 20. Br. Lorenz preached in the German settlement, in Nicholas Doll's house.[488]

March 14 [1777]. Br. Fritz rode early to the German settlement on the Atkin, where Br. Lorenz usually preaches, but could not go today.[489]

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[483] Fries, *Records*, p. 452.

[484] Stewart's Creek originally referred to Lewisville's entire Stewart-Tomahawk-Reynolds Creek system, which begins near Conrad Circle in Lewisville (Reynolds Creek), in the Robinhood Forest development off Robinhood Road (Stewart's Creek), and in Shelton's Lake just south of Yadkinville Road about a mile west of Pfafftown (Tomahawk Creek). The entire system is also called Tomahawk in various passages elsewhere in the Moravian Diaries. Reynolds Creek is today accorded the one that runs into Muddy Creek just south of Country Club Road.

[485] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1092. Johann Nicholas Doll was one of the early settlers of what is now Lewisville, and is the ancestor of the Dull family in Lewisville today. The Rev. Nicholas Lorenz Bagge was at that time the minister in Bethabara. Traugott Bagge, the merchant of Salem and the one who held Power of Attorney for Frederick Marshall during his absence in the Revolution, was his brother.

[486] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1097.

[487] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1100. Johann Mueller lived in the fourth of the four outlots west of Wachovia along the Wagon Road. There was once an old log house at the corner of Lewisville-Vienna and Franklin Roads, before it burned some thirty years ago (late 1960's - early '70's), that may have been the Mueller house. Mueller was the father of Frederick Miller, father-in-law of River John Conrad, the location of the remains of whose house are well known in Lewisville.

[488] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1102.

[489] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1144.

April 11. Br. Lorenz went to the German Settlement on the Atkin, and held a service in Doll's house. Many of the German neighbors have joined together and have engaged a pastor, and have built a church at the point where the Salem-Shallowford Road comes into the other road.[490]

Oct. 7 [1778]. Peter Reif thinks he will go into the German Settlement on the Atkin, and will stay for the present on the farm of the Schwarz who has died.[491]

This church was in more recent days variously called *Gerber's Church* and *The Old Dutch Meeting House*.[492] German names like Black [Schwarz], Conrad, Waggoner, Shouse, Dull, Pfaff, Hauser, Luper, Lineback, [Leinback, Leinbach, Leimbach], Miller [Mueller], and Warner are still heavily represented in the Lewisville area. These Diary entries and Moravian maps, and the known topography leaves only one route to consider as that of the Wagon Road: down Lewisville-Vienna Road to downtown Lewisville, where it runs behind a row of five houses south of Grapevine Road, where the old roadbed can still be seen variously on both sides of a series of property fences, and through the old Lewisville Fire Department building to Shallow Ford Road at Impact Graphics. This was also where the 1772 road from Salem intersected it.[493]

956. MATTHEW BROOKS, 100 acres in Surry Co. on the road that leads from Salem to the Shallow Ford where the road comes in that leads from the upper and middle Moravian towns, it being the dividing ridge between the waters of Muddy Creek and the Yadkin River. 13 Nov. 1778.[494]

1145. MATTHEW BROOKS, 200 A in Surry Co. on the road from Old Town to the Shallowford adj JACOB MILLERs incl his improvement for quantity. 29 Dec. 1778.[495]

This latter land entry is also supportive of this claim, Jacob Miller having been another son of Johann Mueller (his brother Frederick previously mentioned as Elizabeth Miller Conrad's father), who lived on the fourth of the four Moravian outlots

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[490] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1185. The Salem-Shallowford Road is now simply called Shallow Ford Road.

[491] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1269. The German name Schwarz translates into English as 'Black.' The Blacks are still well represented in the Lewisville area. Two Schwarz brothers arrived from Pennsylvania in the same caravan with Christian Conrad and Peter Feiser on 5 June 1769. This Schwarz may have been one of them, probably the older of the two.

[492] *The Old Deutsch Meeting House*, a pamphlet published by Shiloh Lutheran Church, the church that succeeded it in 1883. Gerber willed two acres of land from his estate to the church on his death in 1813; the original survey of this tract for the probate of the will is lost, as is the original deed of the church; therefore, not all of this tract can be presently located accurately: the site of the church building is not on the church's property. 'Dutch' actually derives from *Deutsch*, or German.

[493] Based on the survey maps of this property possessed by the Stimson family, who own the Impact Graphics building, formerly the Lewisville Post Office.

[494] Wells, Agnes M., Phillips, Virginia G., Leonard, Carole J., *Joseph Winston, His Entry Book, Surry County, NC, Land Entries, 1778-1781*, Wells, Phillips, and Leonard, 1987, p. 84, hereafter called 'Wells, *Winston*.' Matthew Brooks was of course the same man for whom Brookstown, virtually indistinguishable from both Pfafftown and Vienna, is named. The Matthew Brooks-James Glen Ferry crossed the Yadkin just north of the Yadkin River Park on Yadkinville Highway, or Old 421.

[495] Wells, *Winston*, p. 101.

running away from Wachovia along the Wagon Road, being virtually in the same area as the first one.

Various stories of Lewisville History, c. 1754-1883

Historic Preservation and its Antithesis

The route of the Wagon Road has followed the only logical one it can by reference to the old maps, Diaries, and the topography into downtown Lewisville, but the two routes west from Lewisville each have points in its favor for being the original route. As noted, both date to the 18th century, both were called the Shallow Ford Road at various places, and both have scant plat map or deed documentation. The two of them forked just east of the c. 1859 Lewis Lagenauer house,[496] the more northerly running behind it, where it has been destroyed for Lewisville Plaza Shopping Center [1969] and the Lewisville Town Square [1997], thence down Belnette Drive and through a short section of woods to Troxaway Court in the Shallowford Forest development, and across a small branch back to Shallow Ford Road near New Hope AME Zion Church.[497] It then travels down Shallow Ford Road to Dorse Road, which, of course, follows the later route of the Great Wagon Road from Pfafftown, of 1770-71, and crossed the newer U. S. Highway 421, at the site of what was once one of the several Travelers' Camps of the Shallow Ford area.[498] From there it traveled about two to three miles west before bearing left onto present Williams Road, which it follows to the Yadkin River bottom and the Shallow Ford.

The southern route--"The Old Stage Road"

The southern route, the fourth of the four previously mentioned tracks, runs in front of the Lagenauer house and down Shallow Ford Road to the eastern end of Williams Road in Lewisville.[499] It then crosses U. S. Highway 421, following Williams Road to Concord Church Road, which was named for the oldest Methodist congregation in Forsyth County, founded c. 1782 as Waggoner's Chapel[500]--and named such in Bishop Francis Asbury's journal of 1786--then through the woods back to Williams Road near

[496] Lewis Lagenauer (1822-1897) was the namesake of Lewisville. His wife was Betty Nissen, of the Nissen Wagon Works family of Waughtown, which was also where Lagenauer had grown up. Lewis and Betty Lagenauer are buried in the Lewisville Baptist Church cemetery.

The Lagenauer House was possibly built as early as 1850, and others have stated 1854. At any rate, the earliest deed this author has seen referring to the town of Lewisville is in a deed of L. C. Lagenauer to S. D. Davis, selling the lot now occupied by BB&T, dated 1859. Hence, Lagenauer was in Lewisville at the latest in 1859.

[497] New Hope is the oldest AME congregation in Lewisville (organized in 1883), and second oldest in Forsyth County (Bethania AME dates back to 1845). Intriguingly, all the names on the deed for the church are of white men, forming an interesting comment on the supposed 'racism' of white men of the time. A Lewisville Historic Marker was placed at the church in November 1998.

[498] A Travelers' Camp was where one stayed until the river was low enough to cross after a flood; this one remained in frequent use until 1911, when the first Yadkinville Highway (Old 421) bridge was built, and in a diminished capacity until 1920, when the West Bend-Huntsville bridge was built.

[499] From the early nineteenth to the early twentieth century it was called the Old Stage Road, a name it is still called by older residents of Lewisville and West Bend. In Yadkin County, there is a stretch of the Mulberry Fields Road or Boone Trail, the extension of this very road, that is still named Old Stage Road.

[500] A Lewisville Historical Marker was placed there in 1997, detailing what records were obtained from the Synod of the Methodist Church.

Panther Creek, and by the 1906 Panther Creek house on Double Springs Church Road, built by descendants of Col. Joseph Williams on the site of his c. 1772 house, which burned in 1885:

> *Mrs. Sarah Williams Lillington built this frame, Queen Anne style house in 1906. It stands on the site of Colonel Joseph Williams' 1772 gambrel-roofed plantation house which burned in 1885. Williams named this area on the Yadkin River "Panther Creek."* [501]

The road then follows Double Springs Church Road past the cemetery of the c. 1840 Double Springs AME Zion Church, founded by both Free Blacks (particularly freed slaves of the Kimbrough family) and slaves of the Williams' Panther Creek Plantation.[502] From there it runs in two directions through the woods back to Williams Road, one going north then west, the other west then north, joining again after something over a half-mile at a small branch.[503] It then runs to the Shallow Ford from the southeast, joining the northern route about a half-mile from the river.

Various roads, loss of Granville plats, and Lord Cornwallis, etc.

Henry Mouzon's Map, etc.

Much of the frustration in investigating these two routes arises from the fact that the map documentation is so badly off scale. For example, the Henry Mouzon map of 1775 has at least three major errors on it in terms of the actual topography. First of all, it shows the Wagon Road crossing the Yadkin just upstream from Linville's Creek, now called Blanket Bottom Creek, which starts in Lewisville near the corner of Reynolds Road with Lewisville-Clemmons Road, and flows south through Lasater's Lake to the river west of Clemmons, as Sam Ervin's previous quote illustrates.[504] Second, no large river bend is depicted on it in the area of the Yadkin River's huge West Bend, the largest bend of the river for many miles both upstream and downstream. Third, it depicts Turner Creek, the first creek south of the Shallow Ford in present Yadkin County, as upstream from the Wagon Road. It is obvious that the Great Wagon Road didn't travel that way but one mid-18th century road did: *Colvert's Ferry Road*, built c. 1765 from the west side of Lewisville, an offshoot of the Shallow Ford Road and later

[501] Taylor, *Factory*, p. 136. Sarah Lillington was the widow of Lewis Williams, one of Colonel Joseph Williams' sons. Lillington was the grandson of Colonel Alexander Lillington, one of the Patriot commanders at the Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge. Panther Creek Plantation was not named for the area of the river, but for the creek, about a mile east of the plantation house. The Williams family said it was named from Colonel Joseph Williams having killed a panther in its lair near the creek, about the time he first arrived in the area, c. 1766. Hunting panthers and wolves was one way that settlers acquired the money to pay for the survey required for a land grant, the pelts having paid a ten shilling bounty each, so this family tradition is well within the realm of possibility.

One problem with this scenario, though, is that Lord John Granville had died in January 1763, before Joseph Williams arrived in the area, and Granville's son never reopened the land office before the Revolution, so from whom did Colonel Williams acquire his land?

[502] Williams family tradition, as related by Lanier Williams.

[503] Allen's Branch, named for the then-owner John Allen, runs into the Yadkin about a mile below the Shallow Ford; see next page.

[504] See n. 435, p. 124.

of the Old Stage Road, probably following part of what became the latter route from the future Lewisville. Colvert's Ferry Road crossed the river near the mouth of Panther Creek, the ferry having been operated by descendants of Cecil and Charles Calvert: the Lords Baltimore, proprietors of Maryland.[505] This road traveled through the future Farmington, and merging with the Irish Ford Road from the future Huntsville, traveled across present Davie County to Renshaw's Ford on the South Yadkin River upstream from Cooleemee, thence southeast to Salisbury. The crossing of Lord Cornwallis in 1781, who followed this very route as depicted on Henry Mouzon's map of 1775, also muddies the historical waters, as much as his horses muddied the waters of the Shallow Ford. Even though the Wagon Road is depicted on Mouzon's map as following what in reality was Colvert's Ferry Road, Cornwallis actually crossed at the Shallow Ford, not the ferry:

> *Feb. 8 [1781]. Yesterday and today many wagons have passed, with whites and blacks fleeing to Virginia. This evening we heard that the English army under General Cornwallis had passed the Shallow Ford about three o'clock.*[506]

Cornwallis' raids of the area also took place on both the northern and southern routes, as should be expected for a 2500 man army, plus camp followers, perhaps a total of 5000 or 6000 people, a rather large army for this time and place. One of his stops was at the home of Robert Lanier on present Shallow Ford Road about a mile east of the river, i.e., on the northern route:

> *Feb. 20 [1781]. Colonel Winston had heard of our troubles, and wrote to ask how he could protect us. Colonel Lanier, who had lost most of his property when the British marched through, wrote to Br. Bagge, promising to say a good word for us whenever he had opportunity.*[507]

Lord Cornwallis is also on record as having stopped at the Panther Creek Plantation of Lanier's cousin Joseph Williams on the Old Stage Road--the southern

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[505] Brumfield, Lewis Shore, *Thomas Lanier Clingman and the Shallow Ford Families*, Yadkinville, n.d., p. 5. Another family of the area with Maryland connections were the Howards.

The route of Colvert's Ferry Road could have followed present Williams Road to the ridge between Double and Panther Creeks (near where Hauser Road runs into Williams), and thence to the river, or possibly to Concord Church Road: remains of that road run to the river just downstream from Panther Creek. Which it was this author doesn't know.

[506] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1765. Captain Joseph Graham, who was at the time a guerilla following on the heels of the British army, said in his memoir of many years later that the British force had started crossing the river in the early morning hours of 8 February; it therefore took approximately 9 to 10 hours for the entire force to cross the river. The British column was said to having been approximately twelve to fifteen miles long. That would have stretched from the river all the way along the road to Bethania. Both Bethania and Friedburg suffered greatly from the presence of the British army in their midst.

[507] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1680. The Hauser-Haynes house stood on the site of the 18th century Poindexter house: see n. 527, p. 146.. The Hauser-Haynes house burned in 1997.

Also, all three brothers-in-law (Joseph Williams, Robert Lanier, and Joseph Winston) were staunch friends of the Moravians, examples such as this abounding in the Moravian Diaries. Contrast that with such as Captain William Lenoir.

route.[508] Robert Lanier (1746-1785) was a well-known member of the Surry County Committee of Safety in days leading to the American Revolution, and later a Surry County delegate to the General Assembly during the Revolution. His brother-in-law Joseph Williams was a North Carolina militia company Colonel, who was at that time serving in General Greene's army with another brother-in-law of both him and Lanier, Major Joseph Winston. That Lord Cornwallis's raiding parties would plunder both plantations of his avowed enemies is not very surprising, but this documented history would naturally make one wonder which was the premier route of the day.

North vs. South

But fortunately for us, the topography of the area west of Lewisville--which is naturally connected with the distance one would travel on each of the two routes--, two state grant and deed records--from Rowan and Stokes counties, respectively--three Moravian maps by Gottlieb Reuter, and one gloriously extant unfraudulent Granville plat map give us the answer to this riddle. First of all, the northern or "Shallow Ford Road" route runs 5.9 miles from the Lagenauer house to the Shallow Ford, and the southern or "Williams-Double Springs Road" route for 6.4 miles, naturally suggesting that the northern route, being the shorter one, was the main road. Secondly, the northern route travels along the ridge from Lewisville to the river, and crossing only one small creek between them, a branch of Davenport Creek, itself a tributary of Mill Creek, both of the latter crossed by the 1771 rerouted Wagon Road, on the northern edge of Lewisville. The southern route crosses Double Creek, Panther Creek, and Allen's Branch:

> *5 Aug. 1774. Commissioners appointed to lay out a road from the Shallow Ford in Surry Co. through the counties of Surry, Rowan, Guilford & Cumberland, to join the road through Guilford to Cross Crk: Beginning at the Shallow ford leaving John Allen's on the right hand keep ing the old road to Double Crk, crossing said Crk at the usual fording place, then along the Road to HUGHs old Mill crossing below it to Rowan line,. . .*[509]

> *8. ROBERT LANIER, 550 A in Surry adj JOHN SATER, his own land, THOMAS JOHNSTON's claim and land belonging to the KIMBROUGH estate and DAVID HUDSPETH's claim on the N, it being on both sides of the road leading from the*

[508] A story told for years in the Williams family speaks of Mrs. Williams sending, by a slave, a goose to Lord Cornwallis, saying that he had taken virtually everything else, so he may as well have the one poor goose she had left. Cornwallis is supposed to have returned the goose, but kept the slave. Perhaps Mrs. Williams should have gone to his camp herself.

[509] Linn, *Rowan Court Abstracts*, p. 160. The next creek after Allen's Branch along the route of this road was Panther Creek, the second one was Double Creek, and the third one Ellison's Creek. The remains of this road can still be seen in various places from the Shallow Ford to the southeast into Clemmons. Edward Hughes' old mill was on Ellison's Creek about a quarter-mile from the river: the remains of the mill foundation and dam can still be seen just upstream from the remains of this road. The county line (which remained a county line, first between Surry and Rowan in 1774, and finally between Forsyth and Davidson between 1822 and 1889, until Forsyth County purchased Clemmons from Davidson County in the latter year) was just south of Ellison's Creek, and is to this day the township line between Lewisville on the north and Clemmons on the south.

Shallowford on the Yadkin to the Moravian town[510] *and on the head branches of Panther Crk, Reed Crk, and Allen's Branch. 12 Feb. 1778.*[511]

NC Grant, 10 Dec. 1778 to ROBERT LANIER, 542 A adj lands belonging to KIMBROUGH's Estate and adj THOMAS JOHNSON, and both sides the Shallowford Road on ALLEN's branch.[512]

The topography of the West Bend area has quite a bearing on what can be said concerning this claim, both Double and Panther creeks being either rather deep or too rocky to cross over much of their courses, and with both Panther Creek and Allen's Branch frequently impassable when the river floods, especially the latter. This choice is problematic, though, for while one could get to the river faster by the northern route, speed in travel always being desirable, the southern one had more much water available for the horses to drink, which was also a very important factor in days before the automobile. But it must also be said that even cars need water for the cooling system, so it's clear from this that one can't rule it out as the main road even as late as the early twentieth century. Third, the grant is for a 640 acre tract originally granted to surveyor James Carter--by 1756 the County Clerk of Rowan County, virtually the chief government official of the county--on 15 December 1753, and sold by him to Sir Francis Corbin, Lord Granville's colonial agent, three days later.[513] This fact, documented herewith by official government records, has indeed a tendency to make one wonder whether or not it was a political payoff, an assumption for which, regrettably, there is no documented proof other than this very fact. However, this method of sale and transfer of the proprietary quitrent, referred to then as *lease and release*, was entirely legal and aboveboard, and practiced quite often in colonial days. It actually greatly resembles the modern tactic of the quitclaim deed, which is an equally legal one, though the fact that it was to the very agent who had granted the land only three days before does, it must be said, make it rather suspect. It was later purchased by Robert Lanier, a well-known North Carolina Assemblyman during and after the Revolution:

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[510] By 1778 the main Moravian town was Salem; this road was therefore the southern route out of the future Lewisville. By the early nineteenth century it was called the Old Stage Road, and is now called Williams Road.

Additionally, there is a small branch that is a tributary of Panther Creek between the 1906 Panther Creek Plantation house (Colonel Joseph Williams built the first one c. 1772) and Shallow Ford Road: this is probably Reed Creek.

[511] Wells, *Winston*, p. 2.

[512] Surry Deed Book A, Page 246. The Kimbrough Cemetery is just north of this branch between Williams Road and the Yadkin River. The first creek one crosses south of the Shallow Ford in present Forsyth County is this branch. The names Allen, Kimbrough, Williams, Lanier, and Martin have been associated with this area for well over two hundred years (all of them since at the latest the 1760's), all of which gives me reason to believe this creek was originally called Allen's Branch.

[513] Rowan DB 2, pp. 1-2, 17-18 Dec.1753. The original grant is lost, and is found only by this Stokes County reference to it. The fact that this original grant is lost, or maybe even destroyed, is yet another reason to believe that there was something suspicious about this transaction.

Also, this is the only record that exists of property owned by James Carter in the Bryant's Settlement. As must be remembered, the claim was made by Robert Ramsey and others that James Carter was one of the original settlers of the Bryant's Settlement. For him to have owned land in the Bryant's Settlement only for three days, and over five years after the founding of the settlement, one cannot under any circumstances call James Carter an original settler, indeed, one cannot call him a settler of the Bryant's Settlement at all.

May 3 [1776]. Br. Bagge was informed that Mr. Lanier did not take to the Congress at Hallifax our account for the supplies furnished to the troops, but sent it to Mr. Every, and he, Mr. Lanier said, was in Salisbury, and Mr. Armstrong, whom he was to meet there, would not go to Hallifax as he had been ordered again to enlist soldiers.[514]

May 1. Col. Armstrong was here. From him we heard that soldiers are to be enlisted again, and that in preparation therefor meal should be ground. Mr. Lanier was here with his wife, on their way to Congress.[515]

Nov. 17. Mr. Lanier and Jordin (Gordon), Delegates to Congress, stopped on their way to Halifax.[516]

March 12 [1777]. At the repeated request of Col. Armstrong several Brethren from Bethabara went to Richmond today to vote for him as Assemblyman, but he received too few votes; Mr. Winston and Gordon received the most, and Mr. Lanier the most for Senator.[517]

Nov. 2. The Brn. Bonn and Bagge went to Bethabara and called on Mr. Lanier, a Representative from this County to the Assembly to which he is about to return. He had said that we told him so little about our affairs that he was not in a position to speak for us. The Brethren took our Act of Parliament with them and showed it to him, explaining that we had come to America because of it; he kept it and promised to do his best for us, but thought that the Act would not have much weight under the present Constitution, for as the King had ignored the Charters given to the Colonies so the Colonies had a right to disregard his pledges.[518] *He said that he thought the forcing of the Test Oath did more harm than good, and that our Court would require it only in the case of suspected persons; he warned our Brethren that our people should be careful in their speech and action, for there were not wanting those who reported everything that we did, especially in regard to partisan opinions in favor of the King. There was some ground for this warning, and he did not mean it unkindly for he was otherwise most friendly.*[519]

May 20. (Aelt. Conf.). Mr. Lanier has returned from the Assembly. An Act was passed that all men, including us, must take arms and drill, but another Act

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[514] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1062.

[515] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1096.

[516] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1101.

[517] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1144.

[518] The right of each party to a contract to declare the contract in abeyance due to the disregard of the other party has been a hallmark of English Common Law since the Magna Carta of 1215; and no party was above the law, including especially the King, who could be removed from the throne by Act of Parliament.

[519] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1167. The Act of Parliament spoken of in this passage was the one granting the Moravians and Quakers, among others, exemption from military service, in return for a threefold tax. The phrase, *for as the King had ignored the Charters given to the colonies*, shows the real reason for the Revolution: please refer to the previous footnote.

provided that all Acts of Parliament should remain in force, so it may be that the Act of Parliament in favor of the Brethren will protect us against the first-mentioned Act of Assembly.[520]

Oct. 25 . Mr. Lanier was here; he was very friendly. He has sold his cattle to Calpert, and they were driven through here.[521]

Feb. 11 [1778]. The Court elected Mr. Winston as Entry-taker, and Mr. Lanier was elected Surveyor for this County.[522]

Sept. 15 [1779]. This morning the Brn. Bagge and Petersen rode to Mr. Lanier to close the trade for our negro, Jacob. He is to buy him at the value of £105: hard money, paying in grain and cattle. We have been hoping for signs of true repentance on the part of the negro, but he shows none, so it is better to sell him than to risk further damage from him.[523]

But quite early on the 18th he [Col. Martin Armstrong] came to us to say that late last evening he had heard from Mr. Lanier that the Surry Court recently resolved that all people who did not take the Oath or Affirmation within sixty days should be sent out of the country. He advised us to get something for our protection.[524]

May 12 [1780-Bethabara Diary]. Our team hauled saw logs to the mill today. From the court we heard that Mr. Lanier has been made Treasurer of this county.[525]

Robert Lanier was a staunch friend of the Moravians, and performed many favors for them, as many of these Diary passages show. He really showed his quality as a very humane and honorable man after having lost much of his property when Lord Cornwallis and the British army marched through the area, and still said he would do as much as he could for the Moravians, who had suffered nowhere nearly as much as he had,[526] as was previously demonstrated. Robert Lanier died in 1785 at the young age of 38,[527] and as a partial settlement of his estate in mid-1791--recorded in both

[520] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1177. It is noteworthy that all Acts of Parliament remained in force during the Revolutionary era: some modern historical revisionists have said that the Whigs were true Revolutionaries, intent on complete destruction of the previous political order, but this Act of Assembly completely blows that *politically correct* belief. The American Revolution was fought over the usurpation of the rights of the colonies by Parliament and the Crown, and was therefore, for lack of a better term, a *Conservative Revolution*, intended to retain privileges the colonies previously had.

[521] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1190.

[522] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1221.

[523] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1313.

[524] Fries, *Records III*, p. 1383. The Assembly exempted the Moravians on this day, 18 August 1778.

[525] Fries, *Records IV*, p. 1618.

[526] Except possibly for the residents of Bethania (the only overtly Whig town in the Wachovia Tract) and Friedburg, both of them places where the British army camped. They only marched through Bethabara and Salem.

[527] Robert Lanier is buried in the Poindexter-Clingman Graveyard, located on Shallow Ford Road, about a quarter-mile east of the West Bend- Huntsville Bridge. His widow married a Poindexter after his early death -- hence the name of the graveyard, and also inspiring my belief that the Hauser-Haynes house stood on the site of the Robert Lanier house.

Stokes and Surry counties--this tract was purchased by his acting administrator, and brother-in-law, Joseph Williams:

> *This Indenture, made this twenty-ninth day of June in the year of our Lord One thousand Seven hundred and Ninety One Between John Lankaster of the County of Davidson*[528] *of the One part, And Joseph Williams One of the Acting Executors of the last Will and Testament of Robert Lanier esquire Deceased, of the County of Surry of the Other part. . . A Certain tract or parcel of land Containing by estimation six hundred and forty acres be the same more or less, situate, lying, and being in Surry and Stokes Counties and state aforsaid on Panther Creek on the North east side of the Yadkin River: Beginning at a Hickory on said creek, thence Running east eighty chains to a poplar, Thence North Eighty Chains to a dogwood near the Shallowford Road, . . .meaning all that tract of land known and called by the Name of the Agent's Tract, . . .*[529]

It is very obvious that this official government documentation denotes the Shallow Ford Road as the northern route.[530] Fourth, the plat map is that of Joseph Potter,[531] a map that clearly locates his plantation on Panther Creek at the river, on the north side of the small river bend at the southern end of the Yadkin's big West Bend, which lends its name to the nearby Forsyth County community. The plat map depicts no road on it but the 1762 Reuter map depicts his farm as lying well over a mile south of the Wagon Road and on the river. This documentation would *suggest* that his farm was not on the Wagon Road, allowance of course being made for cartographical inaccuracy, but the confirmation comes with Reuter's 1770 and 1771 maps, both showing Potter's farm as lying on the Cape Fear Road, running southeast through the future Clemmons. These maps also show no road running toward future Lewisville, and therefore no Colvert's Ferry Road, Old Stage Road, or any other that could possibly be construed to be a southern route for the Wagon Road.[532] The part of the southern route contemporary with the existence of any road from Germanton to the Shallow Ford, therefore, is part of the Cape Fear Road, and the northern route is confirmed as the Great Wagon Road.

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[528] This was the present Davidson County, Tennessee, county seat Nashville. In 1791 Tennessee was still the western part of North Carolina, not becoming a state until 1796. The present Davidson County, North Carolina, of course named for the same General William Lee Davidson, was formed in 1822.

[529] Stokes Deed Book 1, p. 125, 1791. Interestingly, Joseph Winston's wife was Minerva Elizabeth Lanier, and Joseph Williams' wife was Rebecca Lanier, making all three men brothers-in-law. Additionally, Winston was the entry taker for Surry County, one of the agents in charge of county enactment of the Tory Confiscation Act, and Lanier was a member of the Assembly that enacted the law, as well as a county militia officer, making all three men politically connected with the Revolutionary government of North Carolina. All three benefitted from that Act, amassing much land from it. Can anyone say nepotism, cronyism, or insider trading?

Also, the name Agent's Tract reminds one of the original land deal between James Carter and Sir Francis Corbin.

[530] If the claim is made that the southern route, the future Old Stage Road, was this *Shallowford Road*, the southwest corner of the parcel would not have been on Panther Creek, it would have indeed been on the other side of the river, and at least four other land grants would have completely overlapped it.

[531] Plat map obtained by the author at the Archives, Raleigh. The grant was actually made to John Potter, probably Joseph's father.

[532] That of course does not mean that Colvert's Ferry Road did not exist: it was probably a secondary road, which would not show up on any map of the area, save the Wachovia Great Map, had it depicted either the Lewisville or Clemmons areas. In any case, the fact that it is not depicted virtually proves the secondary nature of the road.

The Great Wagon Road, Forsyth County, and United States history - Conclusions

The stories connected with the Great Wagon Road are virtually those of America after its creation. Its connection with the Hite-Fairfax Lawsuit, Natural Bridge, and the Wachovia Tract is written in the ground itself. Famous names like Johann Jost Heydt, Lord Thomas Fairfax, President George Washington, Peter Jefferson, President Thomas Jefferson, Squire Boone, Daniel Boone, Morgan Bryant, Rebecca Bryant Boone, Bishop August Gottlieb *Joseph* Spangenberg,[533] General Daniel *Waggoner* Morgan,[534] General Nathaniel Greene, General Lord Charles Cornwallis, President Andrew Jackson, Governor Samuel Houston, Cyrus Hall McCormick, General Thomas Jonathan *Stonewall* Jackson, and President Thomas Woodrow Wilson are etched forever in its record. Its supreme contributory nature to the rest of American history cannot be denied.

But, regrettably, ignorance of both its route and the inspiration behind it cannot be denied, either. Forsyth County is both the most historically documented and most contested county it crossed. The ignorance of its route seems also to reflect a virulent apathy, an historical and cultural amnesia to both physically and philosophically historical artifacts, in a county that has forgotten the inimical nature of overweening government the Road was cut to escape. The loss of its last extant section in Winston-Salem is clearly symptomatic of this lack of knowledge and concern.

Therefore, it must be said that it is up to us, the historically aware, to preserve the knowledge concerning the Great Philadelphia Wagon Road, to remind people of its route and the philosophical inspirations behind its creation. It is up to us to save both it and those philosophical artifacts from certain destruction, or the Road from Philadelphia, the Road to the Shenandoah, the Road to Wachovia, the Road inspired by freedom, the Road that through the Grace of God and in pursuit of freedom became, as some have said, the Road to Everywhere, will become the Road that can be found nowhere.[535]

[533] Bishop Spangenburg was called Joseph by his friends, and liking it, always referred to himself that way.

[534] Morgan called himself the Old Waggoner, having engaged in that profession during the French and Indian War.

[535] Casstevens, *Road to Everywhere*, p. 8.

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Trading Ford of the Yadkin River

Taken from the Dukeville Power Plant; ford was just south of the island on the left

Crooked Creek, Henry County, Virginia

The Wagon Road crossed the creek at the rocks in the background

Market St. Bridge, Philadelphia

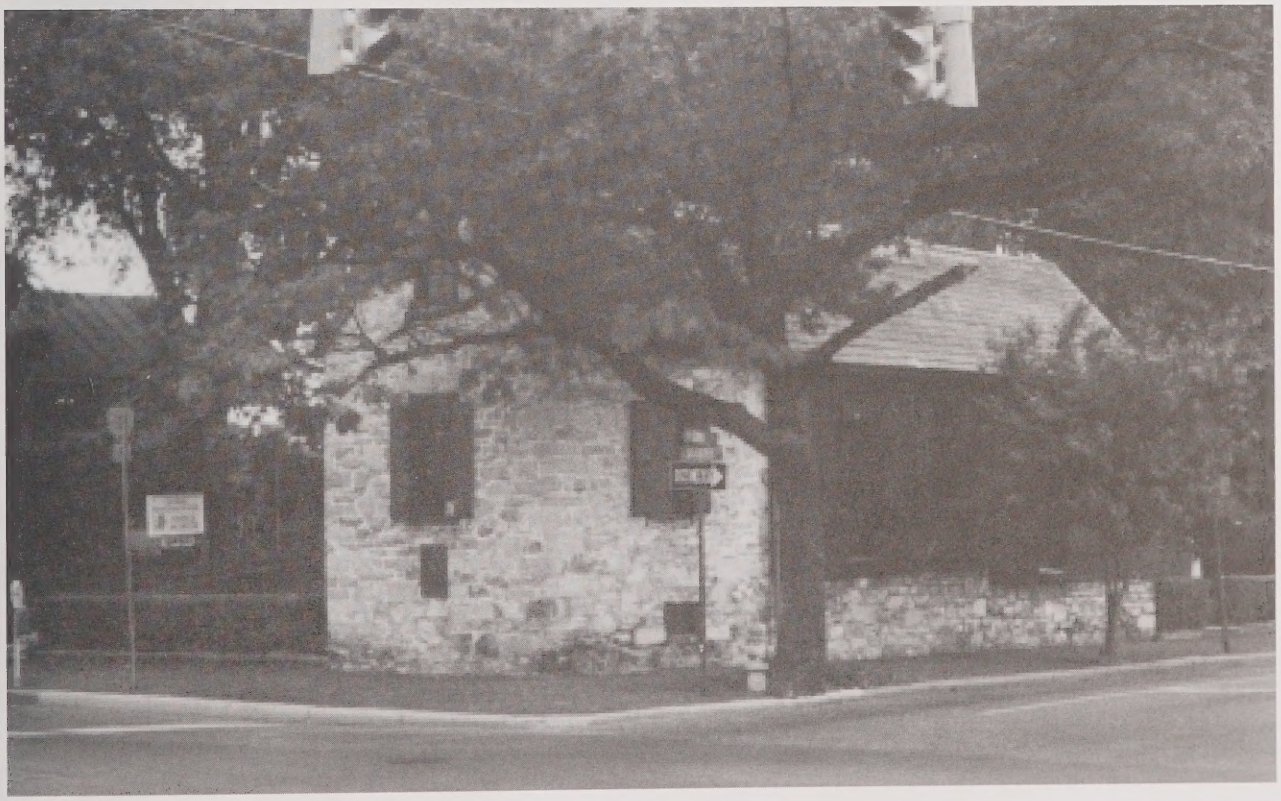
On site of Market Street Ferry; photo taken by Diaz, 1955,
by permission of Temple University's Urban Archives

Wrightsville Bridge

Site of Wright's Ferry, Susquehanna River, GWR crossing, 1734;
between modern bridge and remains of old bridge

Ruins of Jost Hite's House

The Wagon Road can be glimpsed crossing the pasture in the background



George Washington's Office

The middle section was built for George Washington, 1748; the oldest structure in Winchester

Natural Bridge of Virginia

The Great Valley Road, one of the three roads through the Great Valley, traveled atop the bridge

Shallow Ford of the Yadkin River

Ford just north of the island in the background; photo taken from West Bend-Huntsville bridge, half-mile north of ford

Graves of Squire and Sarah Boone

Joppa Graveyard, just off NC Hwy. 601, Mocksville

Blackwater Ford, Franklin County

Wagon Road crossing on the Blackwater River, northwest of Rocky Mount, Virginia

Davis Ford on the Dan River

The Wagon Road crossed at rocks in background;
photo taken from the Dodgetown Road Bridge on the Dan River

Hans Wagner Cabin

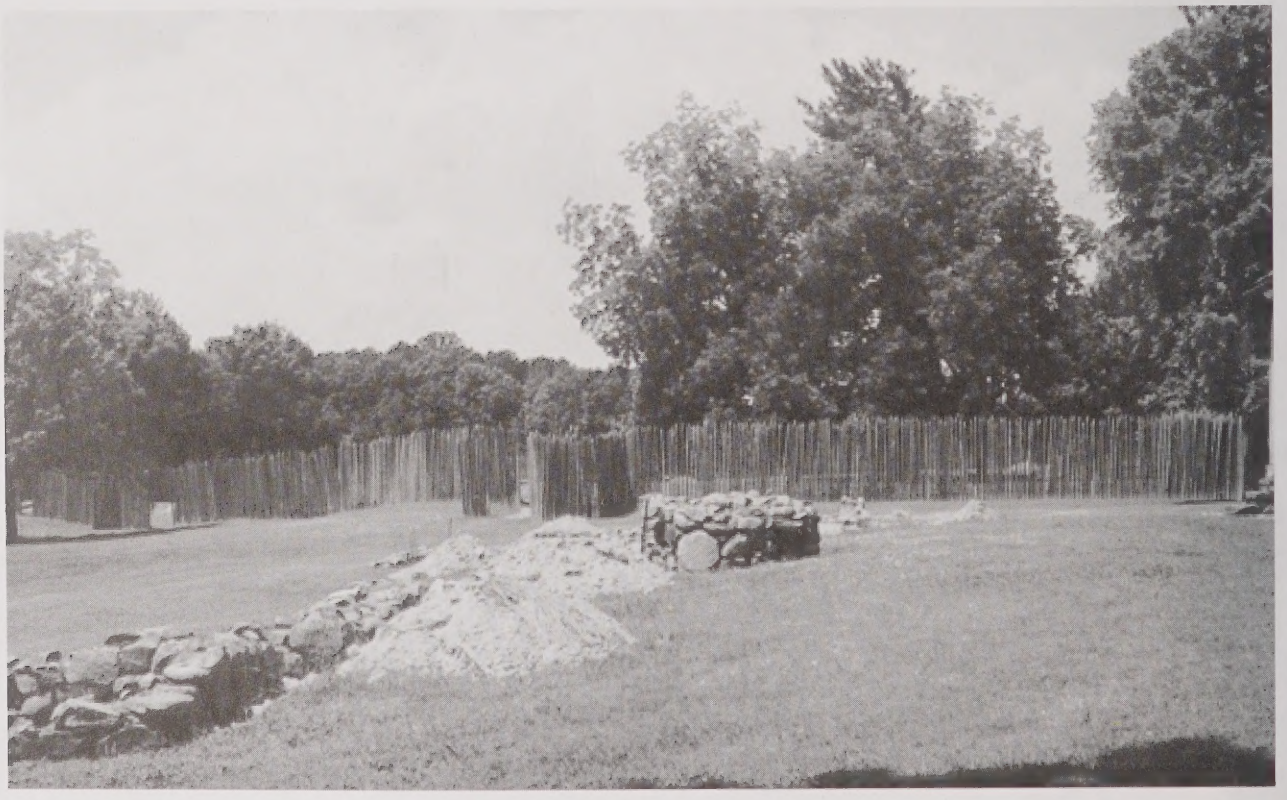
House built by Hans Wagner 1752, destroyed 1766;
rebuilt 1991 on original site in Historic Bethabara Park

Henry Banner House

Supposedly built in 1752, moved down hill in 1806;
if date of construction is right, oldest structure in Forsyth County

Ruins of Spach's Rock House

Built March-August 1774, in ruin c. 1940; south of Friedburg Moravian Church, Davidson County



Bethabara Fort

First Bethabara Fort built 1756, second 1758; first one rebuilt 1964;
taken from behind 1788 Bethabara Gemeinhaus

Remains of the Wagon Road

Just north of Shiloh Lutheran Church, off Lewisville-Vienna Road in Lewisville

Hauser - Haynes House

Built early 20th century, site of Poindexter house;
evidence suggests site of Robert Lanier house; burned 1997

Poindexter - Clingham Cemetery

Shallow Ford Road near West Bend-Hunstville bridge; first interment Robert Lanier, 1785

SETTLEMENT
(Mt. Airy)
1761
Stokes
1789
New River Road - 1763
Quaker Road - 1762
Martin's Rock House 1790
US 52
Surry
1771
Wilkes 1777
Surry
I-77
1763
White Rock Ford
River
Yadkin
Rockford-Shallow Ford Rd.
Town Fork - Bonaparte - 1763
Bonaparte Ford
Bethania 17
Wilkes
1777
Upper Mulberry Fields Road
Etkin's Ford
Yadkin
1850
Mulberry
Fields
US 421
Wilkesboro)
Battle of Shallow Ford 10-14-1780
WACHO
1753
BRYANT'S
Huntsville 1792
Huntsville c.1750
(Boone Trail) - 1763
Shallow Ford
Surry 1771
Rowan 1771
SETTLEMENT
1748
Island Ford Road
Sherrill's Path (E.W.)
Iredell
1788
I-77
I-40
Clemmons c.1751
Friedbu
1753
Davis-Jones Ferry 1746
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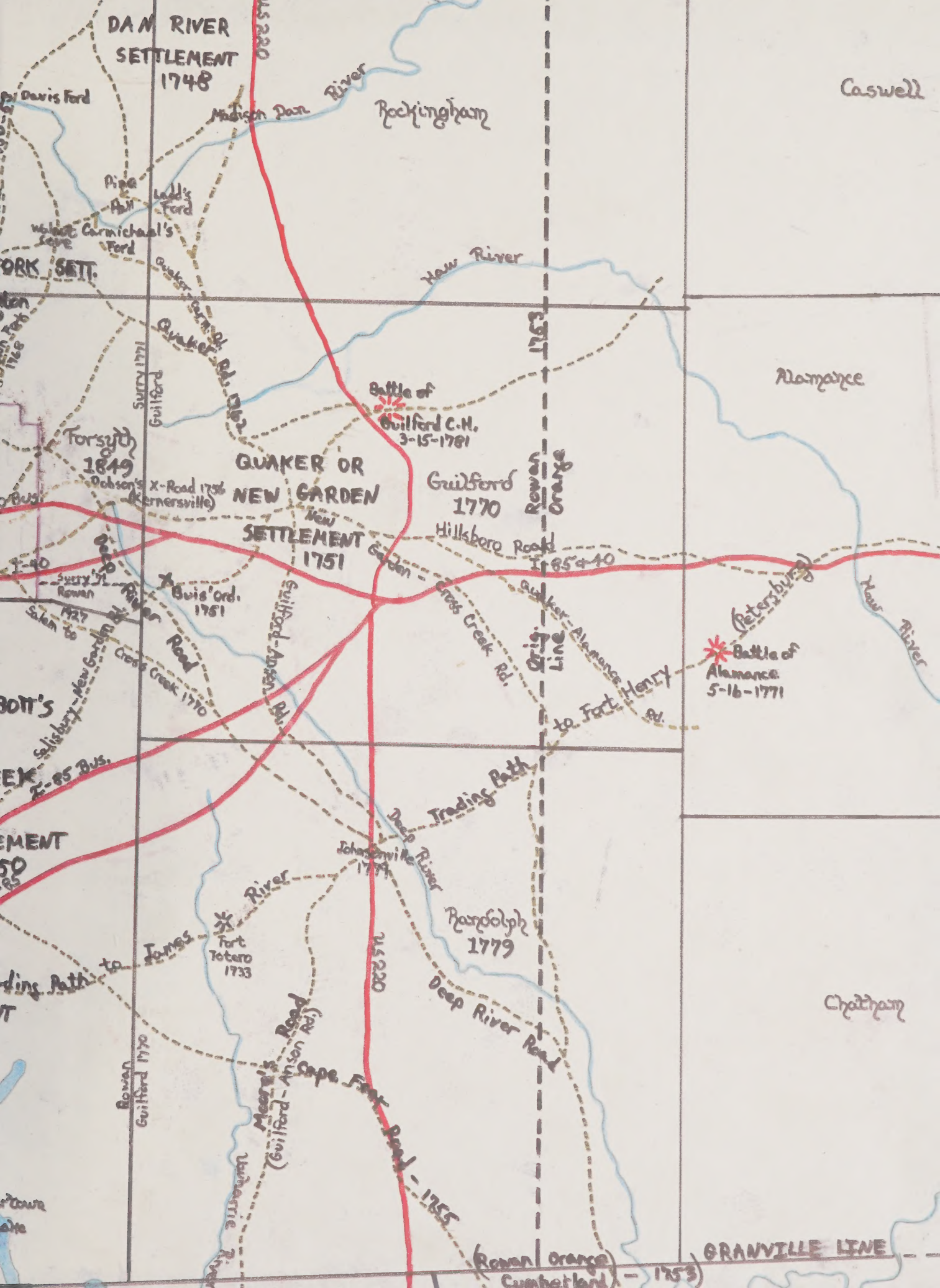
1836
South
Yadkin
Chipley's Ford
River
Island Ford Rd.
c.1792
Battle of Fort Dobbs 2-27-1760
Rankin's Ford
Davidson
1822
FOURTH
CREEK
SETTLEMENT
1748
Trading Path - 1670
Statesville - 1789
Lookout Shoals Lake
IRISH (2nd Cr.)
SETTLEMENT
1748
Shoals Ford (Cooleemee)
TRADING CAMP
SETT.
1750
Cleveland
Salisbury
1755
Trading Ford
Sherrill's Path
Georgia Road - c. 1760
SHERRILL'S
SETTLEMENT
1747
Sherrill's Ford
Lake Norman
I-77
Beattie's-Trading Ford Rd.
I-85
Trading Path - 1670
Rowan
1753
DAVIDSON'S CREEK
SETTLEMENT
Battle of Torrance Tavern, 2-2-1781
GRANVILLE LINE
(Rowan-1753


DAN RIVER SETTLEMENT 1748
Davis Ford
Madison Dan River
Rockingham
Caswell
Pipe Hall
Ladd's Ford
Walnut Cove
Carmichael's Ford
ORK SETT.
Haw River
Quaker Church Rd. 1768
Surry 1771
Guilford
Battle of Guilford C.H. 3-15-1781
Alamance
Forsyth 1849
QUAKER OR NEW GARDEN SETTLEMENT 1751
Dobson's X-Road 1754 (Kernersville)
Guilford 1770
Rowan
Orange
Hillsboro Road
I-40
I-85 & 40
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Salem to
Buis'ord. 1751
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Cross Creek Rd.
Orig. Line
Quaker-Alamance-Henry to Fort. Rd.
(Petersburg)
Haw River
Battle of Alamance 5-16-1771
BOTT'S
I-85 Bus.
Trading Path
Deep
Johnsonville 1771
River
Randolph 1779
Jones
Fort Totero 1733
to
Deep River Road
Chatham
Meare's (Guilford-Anson Rd.)
Cape Fear Road - 1755
Rowan Guilford 1770
Indiana
(Rowan Orange Cumberland - 1753)
GRANVILLE LINE